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CHRISTIANITY, CALVINISM, AND CULTURE.

**E**VANGELICAL religion, that is, Protestant Christianity in its most developed form, is often charged with cutting down human nature, narrowing to a single matter all that ought to engage men's attention, and putting a brand on many human interests and pursuits,—which, however, cannot be dispensed with altogether. The one great interest of evangelical Christianity is salvation. On this, and on what is immediately connected with it, it is charged with bestowing such exclusive attention that it hardly allows any place to human culture, including such matters as science, philosophy, art, and literature. Of course, it cannot entirely shut them out. It cannot prevent them from engaging the attention of intelligent Christian men and women. But it is charged with a tendency to view them as enemies, not as friends or allies; as matters lying outside the sacred enclosure of the kingdom of God, and pertaining to the god of this world; and as having an influence and tendency adverse to that which it is the great object of earnest religion to promote. They are like unwelcome visitors at a Pension or Hotel, who do not amalgamate with the rest of the party, but cannot be got quit of. It is often thought that if the leaders of the religious world had their way of it, they would, as the diplomatic phrase is, present them with their passports, and request them to be gone.

To some extent this is laid to the charge of all definite religion,—of every system that represents the favour of God, and the welfare of the soul in the life to come, as the paramount concern of man. But Calvinism or Puritanism, being the most thoroughly developed form of Christian faith, is usually charged with sinning in this respect beyond all its brethren. Its hard and fast lines, it is said, make this almost a necessity. Dividing very rigidly between the human and the Divine, between the secular and the sacred, between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world, between man condemned and thoroughly corrupted by sin, and man accepted of God and learning to please God through faith in Christ,

it can hardly fail to discountenance every interest and pursuit which is not immediately connected with the work of grace.

According to Mr. Matthew Arnold, religion, whatever be its form, should have but a secondary place as a factor in the building up and perfecting the tabernacle of humanity. Religion is too narrow,—it takes up too small a portion of man's being. But the Puritan form of religion is especially narrow, as may be seen from any picture of religious life, especially among Nonconformists, as presented in their own journals. Modern religious life, as there depicted, is "a life of jealousy of other churches, disputes, tea meetings, openings of chapels, sermons." How can such a life, he asks, ever transform society into all that is pure and noble? He supposes Virgil and Shakespeare to have been in the *Mayflower* with the Pilgrim Fathers crossing to America, and asks whether these great poets would not have found the society of the Puritans intolerable. To which question Principal Shairp, in Scottish fashion, has given a good answer by asking another—"If, instead of the Puritan exiles, the two poets had been thrown into the society of St. Paul and St. John, would they have found their society much more to their mind?"

On the other hand, Dean Stanley, as we understand him, differs from Mr. Arnold in the position he would assign to religion as an instrument for the elevation and benediction of mankind. He would not lower it from its dominating position. He would not bring it down to a secondary place. But he agrees with Mr. Arnold as to Puritanism or Calvinism. Such a sharp dogmatic system can never fill the world with sweetness and light; it will fill it rather with strife and bitterness. It will transform the good old motto, ascribed to so many authors of catholic spirit—"In necessariis, unitas; in dubiis, libertas; in omnibus, caritas,"\* into a symbol of sectarian exclusiveness, running thus—"In necessariis, servitudo; in dubiis, unitas; in omnibus, odium."†—Dean Stanley's remedy is to widen the sphere or scope of religion. It is to separate it wholly from a dogmatic basis, to cut its connection with the creeds. He would do away with your hard and fast lines between a state of grace and a state of nature, between the human and the Divine, between the secular and the sacred. He would apply the term sacred to all that is true, right, and fitting. He would assign a place in the Christian Church to every man of upright character, or even of upright intentions and aims, who wishes to be helped to serve God and do his duty in the sphere in which he is placed. In the wide enclosures and free atmosphere of such a Church, he believes that room would be found for all the interests on which dogmatic religion is apt to frown. In point of fact, such interests have always found the atmosphere of a Calvinistic Church too stifling. Philosophers, scientists, artists, litterateurs are not in sympathy with Calvinism. They draw more cordially to the Church of England, with the milder grip of its creeds, its softer shadings

\* "In things necessary, unity; in things doubtful, liberty; in all, charity."

† "In things necessary, bondage; in things doubtful, unity; in all, hatred."

of doctrine, its easier, more elastic, more altogether human framework. It is one of the strongest convictions of the Dean that it is a great blessing for the world that so many varieties of belief are legally possible in the Church of England. It were, in his view, the worst possible policy to abridge the liberty of its people to hold, and of its pastors to teach, whatever theology they please. It would be the best thing for other Churches to imitate her example. The model of the New Testament Church is the sheet let down from heaven on the housetop to Peter, "wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air."

We should like to see the position of Calvinistic Churches more clearly defined in reference to some of the questions thus raised. The subject is far too wide for discussion in a short paper like this. We will limit ourselves to one question—What is the right relation of the Christian Church to such interests as those of philosophy, science, art, and literature? To which kingdom do these things belong—the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of the world? To which kingdom do they belong, according to the Calvinistic system? What degree of interest in them, and in the prosecution of them at the hands of some who are not in our sense Christians, is it lawful for Christians to have? What degree of interest, for example, is it lawful for Christians to have in books that have the highest literary merit, but are not written by believing men or women? The practical questions thus arising are of no small importance. If Christian people are to read the books of non-Christian writers, they should do so with a clear conscience. Nothing can be more injurious than reading them on the sly, as if it were not quite right, and persevering on that system till by sheer force of habit, conscience is quieted, and troubles them no more. The damage thus done to the moral nature is unbounded. He that doubteth is condemned if he read. The alternatives are very plain—either to eschew all books if you doubt the propriety of reading them; or, if once that propriety be settled, to read them without fear.

We must bear vividly in mind what Christianity really is, according to the Protestant, Calvinistic, Puritan, or Evangelical view,—for in this connection, all these adjectives are equally appropriate. It is no mere development of natural religion, with increased light and superadded sanctions. It is a supernatural provision of salvation for man; it is a way for sinners into the holiest of all through the vail of the Redeemer's flesh. It is a provision of Divine grace, originating in the everlasting love of the Father, realised by the grace of the Son, and applied by the power of the Spirit. We must not slur over the fact that, according to the Evangelical view, man is naturally estranged from God, a rebel from His government, and an outcast from His family. Such being his state, no act that he performs can be pleasing to God. In itself the act may be right and good, but being the act of a rebel, it cannot be accepted as satisfactory to God. Everything is vitiated by the condition of re-

bellion, as every loyal act of a subject in arms against his sovereign would lose all goodness by that single circumstance.

The purpose of Christianity is to bring this rebel back to God. For this end Christ died, and the Holy Spirit is given. Only in Christ can his guilt be forgiven; only by the Spirit of Christ can his heart be renewed. Not till he is in Christ can he be pleasing in the sight of God. Even his best acts and best qualities have no acceptance but in Christ; they cannot be accepted as the acts of an outlaw, but only as the acts of a son.

The restoring of man from his natural condition to a right relation to God is, in this view, an achievement so overwhelmingly grand and glorious that it is no wonder that many divines and others should have allowed it to engross their exclusive regard. Their sole aim and purpose in all their religious teaching and working has been to effect this restoration. They have magnified their office, as well they might, by representing the absolute vanity of human life, even in its highest aspects, so long as this change remains unaccomplished, quoting our Lord's words, "What is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" They have referred to the lives even of great and useful men in tones of compassion, deep and genuine compassion, because inspired by the thought that their feet were not treading the one way of life. From this estimate of the comparative worthlessness of all human things apart from the favour of God, a more sweeping style of representation has sometimes arisen, as if such things in themselves were all vain, carnal, and contemptible, beneath the notice of the earnest Christian. Now, here, we conceive, is the point where error has begun. To represent all human things as vain and worthless *apart from the favour of God* is a sound and impregnable position; to represent them as vain and worthless *in themselves* is quite the reverse. In some moods the very best men are liable to slide from the one position to the other. In fact, the more enthusiastic men are in their love of the Gospel of salvation, the more liable are they to fall into a strain of disparaging and discrediting all human culture, all earthly pursuits. Even against their intention, this may be a silent fruit of their teaching. Such men as the Erskines of the Secession, Boston of Etterick, and the whole company of the "Marrow Men" leant in this direction. They indicated no place in the kingdom of God for philosophy, science, art, or literature. Such things were simply unknown to them as religious teachers. In the next generation, Dr. Hugh Blair and his school endeavoured to find a place for them apart from the evangelical basis; but in securing this, they let go the Gospel, as a supernatural provision for sinners. Nor was it till the days of Chalmers that the balance was set right in Scotland, and men came to see how a supreme regard for the Gospel of salvation, with all its doctrines of guilt, atonement, and regeneration, might be found in harmony with a most genuine regard for the lessons of philosophy and science,—everything, in short, embraced under the wide word—"human culture." It was one of the great services of Chalmers that he linked evangelical



religion to this culture, and showed that if men were only at peace with God it was a most useful and blessed occupation to search out the laws of mind and of matter, and bring to light things that had been hid from the beginning of the world. Knox and his coadjutors had intuitively seen and acted on this connexion; Chalmers made more clear the ground on which it rested.

When even theologians of undoubted power were liable to produce the impression that nothing in the sphere of human culture possessed intrinsic worth to reward the soul of man for following it, it is no great wonder if, in the hands of uneducated men, this notion was more broadly and roughly put forward. Earnest and well-meaning men, absorbed with the idea of the worth of the immortal soul, in taking up the rôle of street preachers or lay evangelists, have naturally made the most of the antithesis between the earthly and the heavenly, the temporal and the eternal, the Divine and the human. Distinctions and qualifications do not suit such men. Their own minds are not educated to recognise them, and the rough, powerful eloquence which some of them wield would lose all its force, if it did not deal in strong, broad statements, which often arrest attention just from their very extremeness. At the hands of such men, human culture meets with little recognition. It is classed with other things "of the earth earthy," which belong to the god of this world. Such men stand at the furthest possible distance from Mr. Arnold and his friends, neither of them in the least degree capable of understanding the other. To Mr. Arnold they are unmitigated Philistines, as to them Mr. Arnold is an unmitigated infidel. They would go on pelting one another with uncivil epithets and bitter accusations; the one wondering how the other could go so far in his blind antagonism to the ever-glorious Gospel; the other wondering not less how such uncouth assaults on the soul of man, such ignorance of its manifold capacities, and such rude pictures of life and duty could ever be associated with the spirit of heaven.

We do not need to show that there is nothing in the nature of evangelical doctrine fitted to give rise to such a disparaging view of human culture, its place and its worth. Let us suppose that the great change contemplated by evangelical religion has taken place in some soul. It has been brought into a right relation to God. It has been forgiven, and it has begun to experience the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit. After all, that soul is not further on than Adam was when he entered Paradise. Adam was then in a right relation to God, and was not only under the influence of the Holy Spirit, but was altogether free both of original and actual sin. But Adam in Paradise was but beginning his career—beginning the special work assigned to him in relation to this planet, prepared for him as it had been, and given as his dwelling-place. A soul, therefore, pardoned and regenerated, cannot be further on than Adam was—can only be at the beginning of the special work requiring to be done by man in connection with this world. God's

charge to Adam was, "Replenish the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." That charge has never been withdrawn. The command to subdue the earth, still standing unrepealed, is one of vast reach and magnitude. To subdue the earth is, among other things, to become master of its secrets, and thereby to understand and apply all its forces; and such mastery cannot be obtained but by patient, intelligent, and manifold investigation. Such investigation, pursued in suitable circumstances, is undoubtedly in accordance with the will of God. It is a pursuit in which God undoubtedly desires a portion of His intelligent creatures in this world to be engaged. It is in many ways fitted to be most useful—useful as a mental discipline, useful as throwing light on the attributes and ways of God, and useful in conferring both material and spiritual benefits on man. That, in the sad circumstances of the human race, some men should be told off by God for the business of trying to restore them, through faith in Christ, to a right relation to Him, and to keep that relation sound and vigorous, and that others should feel it their highest privilege to aid in such work, might well be expected. But for the mass of men, the ordinary employment designed by their Maker must have been to do their little share of the world's work, to contribute their little quota towards keeping the great stream of life in motion. And for a portion of the superior spirits it must have been designed that they should subdue the earth to the uses of man—should discover and apply every influence that could enlarge and brighten his existence, or exercise and expand his powers, or increase his lawful enjoyment, or make the society of which he is a member more prosperous, more happy, and more useful.

It hardly needs to be shown that such views as these have been gaining ground of late years within evangelical circles,—sometimes, indeed giving rise to a belief, which has only a very slight foundation, that the old evangelicalism has passed away. There has of late years been a general widening of the religious horizon,—an enlargement of the sphere in which it is felt that religion has an interest, and is called to bestow her blessing. It was for a long time the practice to regard the Bible as so exclusively a sacred book, and its history as so exclusively holy, that all else was counted profane. Men of sound religious views do not now regard the Bible as less sacred or less specially God's book than before; it continues to enjoy a peculiar sanctity, as the inspired revelation of God's will for the salvation of men; but they do not now regard all that is outside the Bible as common or profane. This world is God's world, though the devil has tried to rule it for himself. The laws of nature are God's laws, its operations are God's operations, and its end is God's glory. "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein." The Apocalypse introduces the four and twenty angels falling down before the throne in adoration of the *creative* power of God—"Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are

and they were created." This is an aspect of the outer world with which enlightened Christian men are now becoming more familiar, and in virtue of which they too are enlarging their conception of what is sacred and divine. This habit leads to a new way of regarding such interests as those of science, philosophy, art, and literature. The matters with which these are rightfully conversant are not common or profane. They are, indeed, Divine things—laws of matter, laws of mind,—intellectual food divinely provided,—Divine sources of instruction, recreation, enlargement of the mind ; means of subduing and possessing the earth. They are not necessarily antagonistic to that more special or spiritual kingdom of God—the Church, redeemed with the blood of His Son and sanctified by His Spirit. True, they have often been usurped by the god of this world, and used for his purposes. The god of this world has tried to use them as rivals to the Gospel, as materials for filling that void in the human soul which God alone can truly fill. But in using them for this purpose, he has been putting them to an unlawful use. The dominion which he claims over them is an unlawful dominion. Of right they belong not to the devil, but to God. They ought to be used for promoting not the devil's interests, but Christ's. It is a Christian duty to take possession of them in Christ's name, and use them for His glory.

1. Thus, first, as it regards Science. The object of science is to bring to light the laws and processes of the material world. This is equivalent to explaining one of God's books, the earliest of the books in which He has revealed Himself to man. The scientific explorer has a sacred function, if he knew it—deciphering God's first writing. The Church should welcome the process, but, in welcoming it, seek that it be carried on in a reverent, filial spirit. The Church should employ her own methods of prayer, benediction, encouragement, in order that this mode of conducting science may be realised. Has not the Church of late years been much more in the way of cursing false science than blessing true ? Granting that some great men of science have not been friendly to theology, have been rude and boisterous in their attacks on it, and have greatly provoked those who value its supernatural character—still, might not Christians do something better than return railing for railing ? Is there not in their reach a store of generosity from which they might well draw, and by means of which, while resisting injurious inferences, they might show all honour to true science, and encourage its prosecution in a devout, filial spirit ? It might fare better with Christians sometimes to meet scientists with the salutation of Boaz to his workmen—"The Lord be with you." An atmosphere of benediction has a wonderful effect. And really calm and intelligent Christians are getting weary of the constant flings of orthodoxy in the direction of science, often expressed in very bitter language, and sometimes in profoundest ignorance of facts. If a soft answer turneth away wrath, a word of appreciation turneth away prejudice. I do not espouse Darwinism, I do not conceal my dislike of some of its doctrines, when I express my profound honour

for Darwin's devotion to science, and pray God to bless his investigations, and guide them to profitable results. As far as he and others are bringing to light Divine facts, the doings of Him who made the world, they are worthy of the highest honour. They are helping on Divine work. That they have added vastly to our scientific knowledge no one doubts, however grieved he may be at their theories and inferences. Would only they would pursue their inquiries in a filial spirit, and learn, like the Apocalyptic elders, to cast their crowns before the throne!

2. So also with Philosophy. If philosophy investigates the laws of mind, it investigates a glorious work of God. It traces out God's handiwork in a region obscure, but very noble. Social philosophy seeks to reach the conditions of man's well-being in his relations to others. Political philosophy investigates the laws of government, and the relations of communities to each other. You say, all these things are usually carried on in so earthly a spirit that to bless the workmen is impossible. They are not working for the Master but for themselves. It may be true; but let us remind them in what a close relation God stands to all their work. Let us elevate and dignify the platform on which they labour, raise their sense of responsibility, and remind them that they are working at a Divine task. When the laws of mind are fully discovered, the result will be to magnify the manifold wisdom of God; would it not be wise for them to think of Him as they pursue their labour; would it not be becoming in them to gather all its results, and lay them humbly at His feet?

3. Or, take the case of Art. Who does not see that the laws of taste and beauty, with which art is occupied, are Divine laws? The notion of a connection between ugliness and holiness is exploded. To deal with the laws of taste and beauty is to deal with a Divine creation. If art has to a large degree been perverted to the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, this is because it has been seized by a usurper. It does not prove that artists ought not to be, or may not be, ministers of God. Or that the ministers of the sanctuary would not do well in calling artists to remember this highest aspect of their vocation—their privilege, if they would so regard it, as priests to God, to minister before Him who is the great Author of Beauty, and Sovereign Lord in the realm of Taste.

4. Lastly, take the case of Literature. The great object of literature, in its legitimate sphere, is to express and apply truth. Literature is the expression of truth by language, as music is by sound, painting by colour, statuary by form. Language, of course, admits of the expression of a far wider range of truth than these other organs. An immense field of truth, manifold and varied to the last degree, solicits the aid of literature to express and apply it. That truth is God's truth. If literature has often expressed lies, the reason, as formerly, is, that a usurper has laid hold of it. Viewed as a great instrument for expressing and applying the truth of God, even in common things, literature performs a sacred function. And if literature has proved a great sinner,

we shall not convert her by merely scolding her. A warmer influence must be brought to bear on her. If the traveller cannot be induced to part with his cloak for the wind, let the effort be made to influence him by the sun.

In the light of these remarks, we may see clearly that Christians have cause to be thankful for all literature that fulfils its function of expressing and applying any part of truth. Let such works, whether historical or biographical, critical or imaginative, be welcomed and used accordingly. If the writers are not under the influence of a Christian spirit, the Christian reader cannot but mark and deplore the defect. But that is no reason why he should not thankfully avail himself of what is good and true and improving in literature, even when it is not the celestial but the earthly horizon that forms its boundary. We may use even the work of godless men to help us to honour God.

Such views acquire additional interest when we take into account the New Testament doctrine of redemption, and remember how Christ has been made "Head over all things for His Church." Among the "all things" are science, philosophy, art, literature,—all that is embraced in "human culture." They are Christ's of right, and one day they are to be Christ's in fact. Perhaps this is what is meant when it is said in the Apocalypse that "the kings of the earth," its intellectual and spiritual as well as territorial sovereigns, are to "bring their glory and honour into the new Jerusalem." Perhaps the sovereignty of Christ over these realms is included in the symbol—"On His head were many crowns." Ought we not, then, in the view of such things, to desire and pray more earnestly that Christ's kingdom may come in all its fulness, and with all its glorious provision for the wants and cravings of the human soul?

"Come, then, and added to Thy many crowns,  
Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth,  
Thou who alone art worthy."

W. G. BLAICKIE.

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## DR. WILSON OF BOMBAY.\*

**I**N the burgh of Lauder, Berwickshire, Scotland, to Andrew Wilson, a farmer of the country side, and an elder in the parish kirk, was born, in 1804, the subject of this sketch, John Wilson, missionary of the Free Church of Scotland at Bombay. From the very beginning of his life, Providence would appear to have separated him for the Gospel of Christ. Even as a child he disclosed the germ of that rare capacity of speech which afterward served him so well, and "almost alarmed his

\* The Life of John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., for Fifty Years Philanthropist and Scholar in the East. By George Smith, LL.D., Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, &c. London: John Murray. 1879.

Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad, 1872-73. London: Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday. 1873.



mother by speaking before he could walk." Dr. Wilson, in his journal, tells us of religious impressions made upon him when only three years of age, "which were never afterwards effaced;" and his biographer refers to an incident of his boyhood which seems now to have been prophetic of the future mission of the man.

"On one occasion the boy was found preaching from a hollow tree behind Thirlestane Castle to the people who were sauntering home on the Sacrament Sunday evening, and was chastised for what seemed to his parents an offence."

A schoolfellow describes him at this time of his life as—

"Modest, devout, affectionate, and gentle; always ready to take part with the weakest; never in a quarrel or a scrape; the most diligent and persevering student in the school; eminently truthful and sincere."

It is a portrait in outline of the character of the man. When but entering his teens, his attention was first turned by the reports of the Bible Society to the needs of the heathen world, and at fourteen he entered the University of Edinburgh to begin his formal preparation for the ministry. After a year, he took the place of private tutor in the family of a Dr. Cormack, and thus, as it afterwards appeared, Providence determined the course of his life to the mission work in India. For in that house, far-off India was an almost present reality. Dr. Cormack's nephews had just been sent home to his care from India. The doctor himself had written a narrative of the labours of General Walker in the suppression of infanticide in that country, and the General was a frequent visitor in the family. It was therefore not strange that, after some years of such associations, young Wilson should offer himself as a missionary of the Gospel to India. To his mother especially this was an occasion of sore trial. But love of Christ was more to John Wilson than even the love of parents, and at last, having completed his theological course, and been happily united in marriage to Margaret Bayne in 1828, he left his native land, and in 1829 found himself in Bombay.

On reaching India, Mr. Wilson, with characteristic industry and determination, set himself to the mastery of the languages of the people, and that with such success that within six months he preached his first Marathi sermon, and in a few weeks more was engaged daily in such preaching, and in examinations of vernacular schools. To the acquisition of the Marathi for preaching to the Hindoos, he shortly added that of the Gujerati and Hindustani for preaching to the Parsees and Moham-medans. Nor was this all. For, rightly judging that in order to thorough acquaintance with the religion of a people, one must, if possible, go direct to the ultimate authorities for their beliefs, he set himself from the first to the study of the Sanskrit, and a little later to that of the far less known Zend, the sacred language of the Parsees, to be followed last of all by the Arabic. With the same systematic and untiring industry, Mr. Wilson devoted himself from the beginning to the

study of the peoples of India. In three successive years he made as many long evangelistic tours, for the most part on foot or in the saddle, covering in a general way the entire Marathi-speaking country, from Nasik in the north-west, to Jalna and Goa in the south and south-west. This accomplished, in 1835 he turned his steps northward into the Gujerati-speaking country through Baroda, &c., as far as Somnath. On such occasions his biographer tells us—

“He carried a few books in an old satchel; manuals, sometimes in MS., of the botany, geology, and political relations of the feudatory princes being as indispensable as the bundles of vernacular and Sanskrit writings which he circulated. Thus every year added to his multifarious collection of objects of natural history and archæology—to say nothing of Oriental manuscripts.”

With like zeal and success he developed in those first years the work of the mission in Bombay, establishing in the first two years two vernacular schools and one English school, and in 1835 an English college, while public discussions with the advocates of different false religions, scholarly essays in the *Oriental Spectator*, which he had established, controversial articles for the native newspapers, and tracts for the people, witnessed the unflagging activity of his mind. At first the natives thought but lightly of his work. Said a follower of Zoroaster—

“With regard to the conversion of a Parsee, you cannot even dream of the event, because even the Parsee babe crying in the cradle is firmly confident in the venerable Zarthushti.”

But the Parsee was mistaken, and the missionary's faith was to be rewarded. In 1839, three Parsee students from Dr. Wilson's college renounced Parseeism for the faith of Jesus Christ. The excitement which ensued was fierce and intense, and at last reached the civil courts, where happily Dr. Wilson was upheld and liberty of conscience vindicated.

But while he ever gave the chief place to his work as a missionary, he had already, in these first fourteen years of his Indian life, attained the first rank as an Oriental scholar. He was the life of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which, so early as 1836, he was elected president. His success in deciphering the famous inscriptions of Asoka at Girnar, the Karli inscriptions, &c., received honourable recognition from Oriental scholars throughout the world, and introduced him to the appreciative friendship and intimacy of Orientalists like Burnouf, Westergaard, Lassen, and many others. In 1843, he published his greatest work, on “the Parsee religion,” which is still the recognised authority in the English language on the subject. It was a gift acceptable to the missionary Church and to the literary world. But the years which brought work and success brought also sorrowful discipline. Dr. Wilson was called to lay in the grave two of his four children, and in 1836 his wife also, a lady of remarkable gifts and beauty of character. For seven years after this last bereavement he laboured on alone, and in 1843, amid the kindly benedictions of all classes of the population of

Bombay, heathen or Christian, turned his face homeward to seek for the first time the needed rest and change of climate.

But the missionary could not forget his work. On his way home he visited "Egypt, Syria, and especially the Holy Land, and the East of Europe, . . . to report to his Church on the condition of the Jews, the Samaritans, and the Eastern Christians." It was in September, 1843, that at last he reached his native land. It was a critical time in the history of the Church in Scotland. The Disruption had taken place in the previous May. Like all the missionaries, Dr. Wilson stood by the party which became the Free Church of Scotland. His presence at home at the organisation of the separate missionary work of the Free Church was of inestimable value. One month after his arrival in Scotland, he appeared in the Assembly, where he rendered to the Church an account of his missionary work and policy, and pleading the needs of the millions of India, urged that so far from being discouraged at this crisis, they should begin anew by resolving to extend their missionary operations. And thus did the Free Church not only continue the mission in Bombay, and the other Presidencies, but sent the Rev. Stephen Hislop to begin a new mission at Nagpore in Central India.

The four years which Dr. Wilson spent at this time in his own country were chiefly occupied in labouring for the Indian missions among the Churches. Not only in the Free Church, but also in the Irish Presbyterian Church, whose mission in Kathiawar he had done so much to establish, and occasionally in circles quite outside the Presbyterian lines, he was ever pleading the cause of the land of his adoption. His literary work during this period is evidenced by a continual correspondence with leading Oriental scholars in Great Britain and on the Continent, by the publication of another most able and scholarly work on "The Lands of the Bible," and various contributions to the pages of the *North British Review*.

In 1847, he was most happily married to Miss Isabella Dennistoun, a lady who proved herself in every way a most fit companion and help of her missionary husband. And so, in that same year, with health restored, Dr. Wilson returned to begin anew his work in India. On reaching Bombay, aided now alike in his scholarly and evangelistic labours by his admirable wife, he threw himself again into the missionary work with all the unabated energy and devotion of his first love. In each cool season we find him preaching, as in former days, throughout the whole extent of the Presidency; in 1850, in the company of Dr. Duff, extending his tour as far as the province of Sindh, then lately annexed, in which, it is said, that he was the first Protestant missionary to preach the Gospel. In Bombay, although, now from unbelieving countrymen in the Government college, and now from the native community, alarmed and excited from time to time by notable conversions to the faith of Christ, he experienced frequent opposition, yet, none the less, his missionary influence steadily increased and expanded. Not only

in Bombay from his own schools, and even the Government college, but from all the countries surrounding the Indian Ocean, came cheering tokens of the Master's blessing on his work. Now he baptises a Beloochee, who had heard him preach in Sindh, and now a Jew from Bokhara. Again, he receives a kindly letter from the Jewish community in Nablus, in Palestine, some of whom, he hears from another source, led in the first instance by his words when visiting them years before in Palestine, had applied for admission to the Christian Church. In addition to his manifold missionary labours, the universal recognition of his remarkable familiarity with almost every department of Indian affairs brought upon him during this period of his life ever-increasing duties of a literary nature, or connected with the political and material interests of the country. Some indeed of such official calls, however honourable and profitable to himself, he refused when it appeared to him that they might interfere with the supreme claims upon him of his ministry of the King of kings. But to nothing that concerned the welfare of the people of India was he indifferent, nor was he slow to any duty consistent with entire devotion to his missionary work.

In the Mutiny, especially, Dr. Wilson's scholarly attainments, and his intimate and often confidential relations alike with the native population and with the Government, made his services to the country of peculiar value. Throughout those days, suspicious letters in unknown characters intercepted in the post were regularly passed by Government to him to be deciphered. In a letter of that time he modestly speaks of his antiquarian studies as having given him "ability to make out some of the most difficult letters which came into the hands of our vigorous officials during the late mutiny." At the same time so fully did he retain the confidence of the native population that in the darkest days of the Mutiny, and in a public meeting, he declared his readiness to go through any lane or alley in Bombay alone in the darkest night. And from Dr. Wilson this was not the language of bravado. How much the relations in which Dr. Wilson stood to the Government and to the people of India may have signified, may be estimated when we remember that, in the opinion of Lord Elphinstone, "Bombay probably saved Poona and Hyderabad, and even Madras."

One effect of the Mutiny was greatly to quicken the interest of the home Churches in India. In the United Presbyterian Church this interest took shape in the establishment of their efficient mission in Rajpootana. In this enterprise they were constantly counselled and encouraged by Dr. Wilson, and when, in 1859, the pioneers of that mission came to India, Dr. Wilson, accompanied by his wife, made a long journey of 1500 miles in a bullock cart, to escort the new missionaries to their field of labour. Nor must we overlook the influence which Dr. Wilson exercised at this period of his life in the educational matters of the Bombay Presidency, especially in the establishment and the subsequent conduct of the Bombay University. In the dark summer

of 1857, Lord Elphinstone, then Governor of Bombay, asked Dr. Wilson to take a place in the Senate of the University; and when, a little later, he was made Vice-Chancellor, he found himself practically at the head of the education of the millions of the Presidency. Thus, as life went on, his influence ever more and more widely extended. Not only was he held in deserved honour by the whole English community, and by the native Church which had, under his faithful ministrations, attained a flourishing condition, but even non-Christian natives turned to him for friendly counsel and assistance in their efforts to deliver their countrymen from the bondage of superstitious and immoral customs. Thus, when in 1862 the Hindoo Reformer Kursundass appeared in the supreme court of Bombay as the opponent of the licentious Maharajas and their horrible systems of consecrated adultery and fornication, it was chiefly by the willing aid of Dr. Wilson, and his rare acquaintance with the archaic dialects of India, that the wretched priests of Krishna were out of their own books convicted, and the triumph of the reforming party secured.

Of special interest, a little later than this, is the connection of Dr. Wilson with the great African missionary, Dr. Livingstone. In Bombay, Dr. Wilson's house was Livingstone's home. Two boys, Chuma and Wyakatane, who had been brought to India by Dr. Livingstone, were instructed, and at last baptised, by Dr. Wilson. Of these, Chuma has since become known to the civilised world as the faithful Christian who was with the great African traveller at the time of his death, and who brought his remains in safety to the sea-coast. In all the preparations for Dr. Livingstone's last departure for Africa, Dr. Wilson took an active and efficient part; and, so long as the former lived, was his most frequent correspondent and the medium of his communications touching African affairs with the Government of India.

In 1837, Dr. Wilson had received in charge two Abyssinian boys, Gabru and Maricha Warka. These he had educated, and in due time both, having been converted, had returned to their native country, where they for many years carried on a mission school, and at last rose to be the official counsellors of Kassai, Prince of Tigre, the faithful ally of the English during the Abyssinian war. And when Dr. Wilson, at the beginning of the Abyssinian war, was asked by the Government of India for advice and assistance in connection with the information department of the expedition, he placed them in communication with these former pupils; and to their services the best of the correspondents with the army attributed much of the success of the undertaking. In the midst of the preparations for the departure of the Abyssinian army from Bombay, Dr. Wilson was called again to undergo sore bereavement in the loss of his excellent wife. But as the event proved, the separation was not to be very long.

In 1870, the Free Church conferred upon Dr. Wilson the highest honour in her power in calling him home to Scotland to be the



Moderator of the General Assembly. In the discharge of that so honourable position, he seems to have fully met the expectations of his friends, and justified the wisdom of their choice. His address upon taking the Moderator's chair is spoken of by his biographer as remarkable for "the extent of his knowledge and the breadth of his sympathies," his admirable "vindication of the standards of the Church;" and, at the same time, for the utter "absence of anything narrow, sectarian, or purely ecclesiastical." The spirit of his closing address before the Assembly on the Foreign mission work may be gathered from his closing declaration that—

"Notwithstanding his forty-one years connection with India, if he lived to the age of Methuselah, he would consider it a privilege to devote his life to its regeneration."

Until his return a year later to India, he gave himself with zeal, apparently unabated by age, to the duties of his official position, and especially to the development of the missionary spirit of the Church. But however useful at home, he could not stay there. "I go," said he, "bound in the spirit to India to declare the Gospel message." And the end of 1871 found him again at his post in Bombay. The four years of his life which remained were filled up with those same manifold and unceasing labours and cares with which we have become familiar. The most notable event in his missionary life in that period was his attendance and participation in the Missionary Conference at Allahabad, where for the first time were gathered representatives of all the Churches labouring for Christ in India. In that assembly, so notable for honoured and venerated men, no individual commanded a veneration more deep and sincere than the honoured missionary from Bombay. And among the many able and suggestive papers presented on that occasion, no one will forget the first of them all, which was read by Dr. Wilson on preaching to the Hindoos. Nor should we omit a reference to the part which Dr. Wilson, in conjunction with the venerable Dr. Morrison of the American Presbyterian Mission, took in the Conference held shortly after for the promotion of an organised union among the many different branches of the Presbyterian family represented in the Indian missions. This was a movement quite in harmony with the truly catholic spirit of the man, and as long as he lived he continued to take the greatest interest in the establishment of that Presbyterian confederation which, as it is hoped, may prepare the way in due time for the formation of a General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India.

At last, in 1875, came the end of this so full and useful life. Here we cannot do better than quote from the biographer:—

"To Mr. Bowen, the American missionary, he said the day before he died, 'I have perfect peace, and am content that the Lord should do what seems good to Him.' And then he talked of the advance of Christ's kingdom in India. . . . At his feet were gathered more—and more to him than Prince or Viceroy, governor or scholar. The Hindoos were there; Tirmal Rao and his two sons came from

far Dharwar to seek his blessing. They knelt before him, their turbans on the ground, as they laid the Christian patriarch's hands on their heads; and when he died, they—Hindoos—begged his body that they might bury it. The Moham-medans were there. A family greatly attached to him brought their own physician to see him. . . . The Parsees were represented by Dhunjeebhoy and Shapoorjee, his first and latest sons in the faith from their tribe."

And so, at last, having just filled out man's appointed threescore years and ten, at the time when multitudes were gathering to greet the Prince of Wales in India, the venerable missionary was called to meet in his glory that Prince of Peace whom, for nearly half-a-century, he had served so faithfully and so well.

Such, in briefest outline, was the life of John Wilson. The death of such a man was a loss, not to his own Church alone, nor even to India only, but to the Church of Christ, and to the world. A rare combination of various natural aptitudes and high attainments, with the most entire devotion to the work of Christ, made him a missionary of a type which is rarely met. At the foundation of all lay his spiritual character. In his Memoir we read little of those almost ecstatic experiences which have been so notable in the lives of some of God's servants, but we are impressed above all with the depth and completeness of his consecration. A single-minded devotion to the fulfilment of the last great commission of his Lord and Master was the motive-power of his life, and the explanation of all that he did.

Passages such as the following from his letters will illustrate this. Writing after his first return to India, when recovering from a severe illness, he speaks of it as follows :—

"It has led me, I trust, more and more to value the unspeakable privilege and grace given me to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. It is a matter of gratitude to me, too, that during my illness I saw and felt more clearly than ever the warrant of our hope and peace and joy in the accepted sacrifice of Christ, and the glory of that bliss which he has prepared for the humblest and most unworthy sinner who rests in the righteousness of God as thereby manifested."

And the following words no less forcibly express the determined consecration of his life to Christ. To Dr. Tweedie, in 1854, he writes—

"Though respected brethren in all the churches may tell us that they 'see a limit' to their benevolent gifts or the spread of the blessed Gospel, we must, like Nelson, turn our blind eye to this signal of intermission and act as if it were never made. The more our souls sympathise with the risen and exalted Saviour, the more readily shall we write holiness to the Lord on all our possessions and acquirements."

And thus it was that, without making a reputation for learning the object of life, as so many have done, studying and labouring in every department for greater efficiency in the work of saving men, he yet became, before he had reached the meridian of his life, one of the first Orientalists in India; and, as we have seen, was honourably known among the first scholars of Europe. And it was a well-deserved reputation. Perhaps, indeed, it

was as a scholar that many chiefly thought of him, and yet we must rank him even higher as a missionary than as a scholar. He was not only devoted and laborious—in this respect, no doubt, many less known to fame have equalled him—but he was, so to speak, a well-balanced missionary. All who are familiar with missionary work in India know how much discussion there has been over the question of English *versus* the Vernaculars, and of vernacular preaching to the masses as opposed to high Christian education in Anglo-Vernacular colleges. In this matter Dr. Wilson was no partisan. He threw himself, with all the energy of his character, into every department of mission work, and it is not too much to say, became eminent in all. To many, indeed, hearing of his work from a distance, and knowing little of him close at hand, he was undoubtedly thought of rather as a great apostle of the high educational system of missions than as a vernacular preacher. And so to some it was a gratifying surprise at the Allahabad Missionary Conference to hear the venerable missionary deliver himself in the most emphatic manner as to the supreme importance of vernacular preaching. On that occasion he said—

“The mother-tongue of any people is the key best fitted to enter their hearts, even though a foreign tongue like English may be common to considerable numbers of them and ourselves. . . . For, like the Jews at Jerusalem, they will probably keep the more silence when we speak to them in their own language. . . . The speeches of the people of India . . . should ever be the grand, though not exclusive, *media* of Christian instruction.”

The principles thus laid down he carried out with such success that, if we may take judgment of Mr. Shoolbred, he came to preach more effectively in an Indian vernacular than in his own. Mr. Shoolbred says, and no doubt with justice—

“As a writer or speaker of English Dr. Wilson was apt to be somewhat stiff and stilted. . . . For this reason he was less effective as an English preacher than his varied knowledge and great ability ought to have made him. . . . As a vernacular preacher he was simple, direct, and effective.”

And, with the illustrations of his style of preaching given by Dr. Wilson himself at the Allahabad Conference, it is easy to understand and believe this. On that occasion he said—

“Being at a loss for a congregation in a certain village, I went up to a goldsmith busily engaged in his work, and put to him the question—‘What is better than gold?’ He was astonished at the question, and firmly said, ‘There is nothing that is better than gold.’ A young man said, ‘A diamond is better than gold.’ ‘I think the *Sahib* has something else in his eye than either gold or diamonds,’ exclaimed another auditor. ‘Wisdom is better than gold,’ cried the artisan, ‘for if you have the wisdom you will get gold, but not otherwise.’”

Hereupon the doctor, having collected an audience, quoted Solomon upon the subject, and called upon his hearers for an expression of opinion, when he had the opportunity to preach the Gospel to the crowd at length.

Better still perhaps is the following :—

“‘What is your usual employment?’ I said one day to a man sitting at the roadside at the entrance of a village. ‘My employment,’ said he, ‘is that of going forwards and going backwards; I am the postman.’ . . . Encouraged by my inquisitiveness, the postman then asked—‘Pray, what is your employment?’ ‘It is that, I trust, of going forward,’ I replied. ‘Where are you going? to Surat?’ ‘Beyond that.’ ‘To Baroda?’ ‘Beyond that.’ ‘To Disa?’ ‘Beyond that.’ ‘To Ajmeer?’ ‘Beyond that.’ ‘To Persia?’ ‘Beyond that.’ ‘To another world?’ ‘You have found my meaning at last.’ I then had the way prepared for me to discourse to him and others gathered around us on the Christian pilgrimage.”

And not only as a vernacular preacher and Christian educator did Dr. Wilson stand deservedly high, but his general views of mission policy were worthy of the man and his position. From the very first he gave himself earnestly to the work of raising up that native ordained ministry which must be our great reliance for the thorough evangelisation of the heathen nations. Moreover, though a Presbyterian, and from the day of the Disruption, most loyal and true to the Church with which he had cast in his lot, he was none the less, as befits the missionary character, catholic as the Gospel itself in his sympathies. And his broad catholicity of spirit, with that expanded view of the great work of the Church which knew no limits of Church or country, gave his missionary labours an almost cosmopolitan character. In this respect, indeed, his peculiar position in such a city as Bombay gave him a great advantage, so that, from that as a centre, he was able to reach, either directly or indirectly, by agencies either directed or set in operation in part or wholly by himself, populations more diverse and widely scattered than perhaps any missionary of the present century. He made himself felt not only throughout the Bombay Presidency but even to Sindh and Rajpootana and other surrounding native States, whither he personally carried the Gospel and initiated missionary work. Outside of India, we find him urging on the home Church a mission to Rome; now his heart is drawn out toward the Jews and Christian peoples of Palestine; again a mission to the Jews of Southern Arabia engages his active sympathies and efforts; and, before his death, converts baptised by him are found witnessing for Christ in Abyssinia and the remoter wilds of Central Africa.

Finally, in matters political and social, which lie to a great extent outside the sphere of most missionaries, Dr. Wilson held a position as unique and important as it was entirely unsought. More, probably, than any missionary of our day in India, he came to be, quite unofficially, a mediator and interpreter, as it were, between the people of India and their English rulers. Every one who has lived in India knows the extreme difficulty which the foreigner finds in coming *en rapport* with the natives. Without doubt, many a grave error in the policy of the Government or of Christian missions in India is to be traced to this simple cause. But as regards this matter, Dr. Wilson was peculiarly

gifted. Whether it were with his own countrymen or with the natives of India, he always showed a rare power of attracting and winning the confidence of men, even of those most widely removed from himself in rank, race, or religion. The testimonies to this fact are numerous and striking. It was Lord Elphinstone who said—

“That to no man was he so indebted personally for public and private services as to Dr. Wilson, on whom he could not prevail to accept so much as the value of a shoe latchet.”

A second illustration shall be from a letter of a Hindoo judge, Rao Bahadoor Tirmal Rao, who says that from the time of Dr. Wilson's arrival in India,

“Up to his death, no less than eighteen governors ruled over the Western Presidency. Each in his turn did what good lay in his power to the country. There is no wonder in that, as all of them were invested with official power, and had at their command money and men. Dr. Wilson was a poor man, without power or money. Nevertheless, he did more good to India, and still more to the Presidency of Bombay . . . than all the eighteen governors put together.”

This unsought position as friend, and often trusted adviser alike of the ruler and the ruled, was one of peculiar delicacy and difficulty, but Dr. Wilson discharged its responsibilities with a tact and discretion that seem never to have failed him. And yet, under all these so diverse and honourable cares, he retained to the end the same simplicity of purpose with which he began his life in India, nor to the last did any external pressure of secular duties or temptation of worldly emolument and honour ever cause him to sink out of sight the character of the missionary of the cross. Scholar, and we had almost said statesman as well, yet above all as a missionary he consistently lived, and as such at last he peacefully died.

S. H. KELLOGG.

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## MISSION WORK OF THE ANCIENT CELTIC CHURCH.

IT is a well-known fact that there existed in the British Isles from the fifth to the eighth century a native and independent Church, which had its main seat among the Celtic population. It was the Church of the Britons, especially of Wales, of the Celtic Scots of Ireland and Scotland, and latterly of the whole of Scotland and Northern England. It was the same Church which, during the age of its greatest vitality and power, had its chief head and centre in the island of Iona. It is spoken of by authors under a variety of names, being sometimes called the Celtic, sometimes the Scottish, sometimes the British, sometimes the Irish, sometimes the Iro-Scottish, and sometimes the Culdean Church.



This ancient Church was essentially missionary in its spirit and aim, and the object of the present article is to lay before the general reader a brief sketch of its mission operations, more especially upon the Continent of Europe, during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

The question naturally presents itself at the outset as to how this Church came to be independent of Rome in its government, and divergent from it in usage and doctrine. And the answer is not difficult to find. During the age in which the Romans held possession of England, the Christian religion passed over into the purely Celtic regions, and especially Wales, retaining naturally the type of government, usage, and doctrine then existing in the Western Church. But when the conquerors withdrew from the island in the earlier portion of the fifth century, and the country was overrun by hordes of heathen Saxons, the Celtic Church was practically cut off from the Continent, and continued in its state of isolation for about two hundred years. In the meantime, the Church of Rome went on developing on its own special lines, and two centuries were enough to cause a considerable divergence from its earlier position. During the same period, the Celtic Church in its isolation either remained in the old position, or also went on developing in its own particular way. Throughout these two centuries this Church spread over Ireland, Scotland, and the north of England, travelling in the way indicated by the order of the names; and when in the last-mentioned field, as well as in Wales, it came into sharp collision in the seventh century with the Romish Church working from the south, the divergences between the two became apparent, and the age of hostility began.

We do not mean to enter into any discussion whatever in regard to the doctrines and usages of the ancient Celtic Church, and satisfy ourselves with the briefest statement. For one thing, it was independent of Rome. "It had one Head, our Lord." In it the Holy Scriptures were supreme, and the doctrines taught were mainly the simple evangelical doctrines therein contained. Bede remarks with much simplicity that its people "were far away from the rest of the world, and therefore they only practised such works of piety and charity as they could learn from the *prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical* writings." It appears to have known nothing of purgatory, with the world of legendary matter and the superstitious and mercenary rites to which it afterwards gave rise; and just as little did it know of that gross Mariolatry which in after ages has characterised the Church of Rome. It dispensed the Lord's Supper in the two elements of bread and wine, but seems to have held an indefinite view which looks very like transubstantiation. It celebrated Easter, though with a different rule as to time from Rome. It laid great stress on fasting and penance, and a hard ascetic life, and the sign of the cross was largely used as a means of blessing. Its monks were also marked by a different tonsure from those of Rome. That is, while the Roman ecclesiastics shaved a circle on the crown of the head, the Celtic monks shaved all the forehead to a line stretching over from

ear to ear. There was no strict rule prohibiting the marriage of ecclesiastics, and it is certain that many of them were married. Perhaps we ought also to add that, though there were bishops, yet they had no dioceses, no government or jurisdiction; this being vested in the hands of the abbots, who were generally presbyters, and to whom the bishops themselves were subject. It is even somewhat doubtful whether the latter had the exclusive power of ordination; but if they had, it is at least certain that the Romish Church did not accept their ordination as valid.

This ancient Church was eminently characterised by a missionary and aggressive spirit. This fact has been fully and explicitly acknowledged by such thoroughly competent writers as Dr. M'Lauchlan in his admirable volume on "The Ancient Scottish Church," by Mr. Skene in his equally admirable second volume of "Celtic Scotland," and by Dr. Todd in his elaborate "Life of St. Patrick." But it is rather to Continental authors, as might naturally be expected, that we are indebted for more minute investigations into the details of the mission work undertaken by the different branches of the Celtic Church, and it is mainly from such authors that the substance of the present article is drawn.\*

Various reasons may be assigned as contributing to the missionary zeal and activity of the ancient Celtic Church. Chief amongst these must ever be regarded the fact that her ecclesiastics were real believers in the Gospel, and held their faith with all that zeal which might be expected from the *perfidum ingenium Scotorum*. Bede, himself a rigid Romanist, has left a glowing description of the genuine Christian character, zeal, self-sacrifice, and unwearied activity of the missionaries of Iona. Moreover, the Church was explicitly a mission Church, existing with a conscious view to mission work, as much so as the Moravian

\* Contributions of considerable value in this direction may be found in the eloquent pages of Ozanam's *Études Germaniques*, and also in that most interesting but uncritical work of Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*. Still more may be found in a German volume by Greith, the Roman Catholic bishop of St. Gall in Switzerland, entitled *Geschichte der altirischen Kirche und ihrer Verbindung mit Rom, Gallien und Alemannien*, a work in which fable and wild and meaningless miracles are largely mixed up with veritable history. A vast amount of material bearing on our subject is scattered throughout the pages of Rettberg's most laborious and learned *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, and a good deal may also be found in a work by Heber on *Die vorkarolingischen christlichen Glaubenshelden am Rhein*. But by far the most thorough book on the subject known to us is a volume by Dr. Ebrard, on *Die irschottische Missionskirche u. s. w.* This latter may be described as, to some extent, a pioneer work, and, like all such, has much to do in the way of removing rubbish of various kinds, and entering into long and laborious critical investigations. We frankly confess that we regard the author as often carried away by his rigid theory, and think that some of his conclusions may well bear to be questioned, and others to be considerably modified, while a few may even be entirely rejected. But that he has unearthed much new historical material and added practically a new chapter to our ecclesiastical history can hardly be denied. We ought also to mention Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* as a work containing many facts bearing upon our subject.

Church of modern times. All its institutions, its education, and training were largely directed with a view to mission purposes. Another contributing factor is also to be found in the intense desire for travelling, which even then was so largely developed as to characterise our countrymen, and attract the attention of contemporary writers. Furthermore, the multitudes which crowded into the monasteries or mission institutes were so numerous as to demand an outflow in the way of foreign mission work. Again, heathen conquests contributed in the same direction. When the Saxons overran England they drove the British ecclesiastics into Wales in such vast numbers that they were fain to seek mission-fields on the Continent, especially among their Celtic brethren in Brittany. When the heathen Danes and Norwegians overran Ireland somewhat later, the effect was substantially the same. And, strange to say, the advance of the Roman Church in Britain also contributed to the same end. When the stream of missionaries from Iona which flowed into England from the north came into collision with Roman missionaries working from the south, that stream was diverted from its course, and flowed over towards Germany. Still more, when the Roman Church gained the ascendancy in Northumbria, and compelled the Celtic ecclesiastics and their adherents to conform, the more determined men, rather than submit, preferred to seek out fresh fields of mission work upon the Continent, where, for at least a little longer, they might be free from the interference of Rome. Such are a few of the elements which help to explain the missionary activity of the ancient Celtic Church.

Having looked into the causes, we next proceed to notice the methods by which the missionary operations of this Church were carried on. The grand characteristic in this respect was, that it wrought by means of so-called monasteries or mission institutes. It was altogether a Church consisting of such monasteries; its whole government was carried on by their abbots, and its services and work were performed by the brethren who found a home in them. It gave much attention to the training of young men, and that training was of a thorough but extremely practical kind, expressly designed to make them useful missionaries. These students were arranged in "families," or classes of twelve, which seems to have been a characteristic, almost a sacred, number in their estimation. They were placed under some presbyter as their head and trainer; and when a "family" was ready to hive off, the members of it went forth singly or in a company with their training presbyter at their head as their father or abbot, to seek for a suitable mission sphere. The occasion of their departure from the parent monastery was, of course, a picturesque and interesting scene. They wore as under-garment a tunic, and over it a coarse outer garment made of wool. They had a cowl for their head and sandals for their feet. They had their foreheads tonsured in the way already described, and the hair flowing down unrestrained behind. They had a staff like a shepherd's crook in their hand; a satchel on their back, in which they carried their books, their food, and other necessities;

a leather water-bottle at their side, and sometimes a little case containing relics on their breast. As they marched through the country to their destination, their very appearance awakened and attracted notice. When they had fixed on their sphere of work, they next endeavoured to secure the goodwill and authority, if possible, of the chief of the district, with a view to settling down. They generally selected as their centre islands off the coast or in rivers, after the model of Iona, or quiet secluded nooks in mountain glens by the sides of streams. Their first duty after settling down was to build little circular huts of wattles or wicker-work, generally a hut for every brother. They built a hall or larger apartment for common meals. They erected in the centre of the settlement a little church, sometimes of wattles, sometimes of wood, sometimes of stone. It was frequently covered with ivy, and had a little belfry attached, in which was placed a rude square iron bell. The whole was surrounded by a wall or rampart and a ditch for the purpose of protection. They next proceeded to clear the surrounding forest or moor and bring it under cultivation. They did all the necessary work with their own hands,—ploughing, sowing, reaping, milking and tending the cattle, fishing, weaving, and so forth. In the meantime, they proceeded to carry on mission work among the surrounding natives, and, as they succeeded, they frequently gathered them into Christian colonies or villages around the walls of the convent. They paid careful attention to the education of the boys, especially taking care to secure such as might be serviceable as brethren, and these they trained in the way already described. Of course, it was impossible that all parts of the country should be within the reach of such institutes, and, accordingly, different brethren were scattered over the districts at suitable places,—all, of course, remaining under the government of the monastery, and falling back upon it, when necessary, for counsel and for additional workers. Then when the district was well Christianised, when there were more brethren than were necessary for multiplying copies of the Scriptures and other religious books, a matter to which they gave great attention, there naturally came a time when there began to be an excess of members in the monastery. Then individuals, or even a whole company of twelve with their abbot at their head, hived off in the way previously detailed, in order to form a new monastery or mission-centre in the more outlying heathen wilds. These institutions, as a rule, acknowledged more or less directly the supremacy, or, at least, the priority of the parent institution of Iona, which in the days of its greatest glory was said to be the mother of a thousand monasteries. By such missionary methods as we have now described, our ancient Church spread a knowledge of the Gospel far and wide both in the British Islands and on the Continent of Europe.

Perhaps we cannot introduce the historic part of our subject better than by a brief glance at the way in which the Celtic Church spread in Scotland and the adjacent islands, before we proceed to sketch its work upon the Continent. As is well known, the first settlement in this

country was effected by Columba in Iona, in the year 563. Of course, none of the picturesque and hoary ruins in that island, which still remain to interest and warm the heart of the intelligent Christian traveller at the present day, reach back to that early age. They date only from about the twelfth century, and therefore have nothing to do, at least directly, with Columba. Nevertheless, the island is still fragrant with the memories of the ancient saint and his successors, and those glorious days when it shone like a guiding beacon-light amid the darkness, and cast its benignant rays over the islands of the Western Sea, the mainlands of Ireland and Britain, and even a large portion of the Continent of Europe. From this living and energetic centre, the work of evangelisation spread in every direction. We find traces of its early missionaries over all the adjacent islands, on the lonely St. Kilda in the west, in the Faroe Islands in the north. They wandered even as far north as Iceland, for the Sagas explicitly declare that when the Norwegians landed in that island, they found Christians of the Celtic Church already there, and they further tell of memorials which those ancient missionaries left behind, such as Irish books, bells, pastoral crooks, and the like. We find Columba himself at Inverness, where he effected the conversion of the Pictish king, and once and again in the Isle of Skye. We can trace his followers settling down and carrying on mission work at numerous centres, many of which afterwards became monasteries. We need only mention such places as Applecross in the west of Ross, and Rosemarkie in the east; Deer and Turriff, in Aberdeen; Brechin and Scone, Dull and Abernethy, near the centre of Scotland; Inchcolm and Inchkeith, in the Firth of Forth; Tynningham, in Haddington; Melrose and Coldingham, in the south; Lindisfarne and Whitby, beyond the border. It is quite true that in Saxon England the number of these institutions was not so great, because of the short period during which that country was within the pale of the Celtic Church; nevertheless, even Montalembert himself frankly admits that only one of the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxon confederation—viz., Kent—owed its conversion to Rome, that three owed their conversion to the combined efforts of the Romish and Celtic Churches, while the remaining three, comprising two-thirds of the whole extent of the country, owed their Christianisation entirely to the Celtic Church. The statements just now given may help to fill the mind with a vivid perception of the way in which the blessed work spread from centre to centre. Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say, that were beacon-fires kindled in a winter night on the hills adjacent to the various centres of the ancient mission work of Iona, there would be a complete chain of them visible one from another, extending from the Humber in the south, to the Orkney Islands in the north; from Aberdeenshire in the east to the remotest Hebrides in the west.

We now pass to the mission work upon the Continent of Europe. We do not mean at present to say more than a few words about the



operations of the Celtic missionaries in France. They were very numerous in that country, and were specially favoured by the Merovingian kings. They did much in the way of reclaiming the French Church from Arianism, and founded numerous monasteries throughout the land; nevertheless, as France was already substantially Christianised, their work was not distinctively mission work, and therefore does not fall within our present scope. Still, there was one district—viz., Brittany, in the west—which, in the sixth century, continued as yet in pagan darkness, and afforded a field for mission work in the truest sense. When the heathen Saxons destroyed the British Church in England, or crushed it ever further back into the mountains of Wales, the ecclesiastics, who were thus driven from their church work at home, flocked over in hosts to Christianise their brother Celts in Brittany. For more than a century, “swarms of monastic missionaries” continued to crowd over thither, until the whole region was brought within the Christian pale. These monks founded numerous monasteries, especially along the sea-coast, and were all the clergy which the inhabitants had for several centuries.

The great Continental mission-field, more properly so-called, of the ancient Celtic Church, lay mainly within the regions inhabited by the German tribes. Roughly speaking, the western boundary may be regarded as formed by a line beginning at the St. Gotthard Pass in the south, and running thence by Lucerne to Basle. It then sweeps away to the west as far as Luxeuil so as to include all the Vosges and their side-ranges, and the mountainous regions watered by the Moselle and the western tributaries of the Rhine. Thereafter it trends eastward to the Rhine at Bonn, and proceeds down the river to the German Ocean. The southern boundary was formed by the Alps, and the northern one, of course, by the ocean, while the field extended eastward indefinitely until it shaded away towards the River Elbe and the boundaries of Bohemia. No doubt a large portion of this district, especially in the south and west, had been partially Christianised in the days of the Roman Empire; but the deluge of barbarian hordes, rushing wildly in from the east, had left the early Church a total wreck, and, in some districts, had even swept it entirely away. Heathen night had once more set in, and whether we look at the Alemannians and Suevians in the south, the East Franks and Thuringians in the centre, or the Saxons and Frisians in the north, it is very much the same thing. They were all alike devoted to the rough, strong, drunken, warlike worship of Odin. “They were savage and godless; they worshipped idols; they presented sacrifices to demons in the sacred groves; they practised soothsaying and witchcraft, and many similar superstitions.” It was heathenism in one of its strongest, roughest, manliest types, with not a single fibre of weakness in it. It was a field to be conquered only by men of a strong type of faith and manhood; but evidently a field containing such raw material as was likely to yield in the future a strong and manly Christianity.

Perhaps we cannot get a more vivid view of the extent of the mission-field occupied by the ancient Celtic Church than by running along the course of the Rhine, that well-known artery of central Europe. Beginning near its source, we find an important mission-centre at Dissentis, whose spacious old abbey still looks down upon the little town surrounded by its circle of noble alpine summits. Descending the river, we come to Chur, where we find another station, still represented by its old cathedral, and ancient Celtic traditions that have floated down the ages. From these two centres, the light spread out into many side-valleys, where, at the present day, the traveller wonders at the strange mixture of Romanism and Protestantism, of the Romansh and German languages. We find another centre at Bregenz at the southern end of the lake of Constance. Passing by St. Gall for the present, and following the course of the river, we come to Rheinau, to Säckingen, to Augst, to Basle, and even Strassburg, all of which districts owed their second, if not their first, Christianisation to a large extent, directly or indirectly, to our missionaries. The same is true of Weissenburg, Spire, Worms, and Mainz, not to mention many less important intermediate places. We pass by the Disibodenberg, not far from Bingen, and only mention Cologne, Kaiserswerth, and Utrecht, as other places where important stations were formed. From these and similar centres our early missionaries wrought out in all directions. More especially their operations extended eastward into the districts now embraced within modern Holland and Germany. In the north, they carried the torch of the Gospel far over the moors and fens of Friesland and Oldenburg. In the centre they pushed their way into the pleasant wooded vales of the Harz and the Thuringian mountains. They had an important centre at what is now the grand old city of Würzburg on the Main, a place still rich in ancient ecclesiastical memories. They penetrated in all directions into the wooded glens of the Odenwald and Schwarzwald, and found in them congenial fields of life and work. They made their way across to the Danube, and the traveller who has been in Regensburg, and visited the old Schottenkirche there, with its sombre walls and strangely-ornamented doorway, may well be reminded by it indirectly of the fact that that ancient city was another famous mission-centre of the Celtic Church. Passau, which lies so beautifully embraced by the Danube and the Inn, and so magnificently commanded by its romantic citadel, and Salzburg, that ancient ecclesiastical key to the regions of the Bavarian and the Austrian Alps, formed other important centres towards the south-east. With the aid of a map of Europe, and these rough hints before his mind, we believe that the reader will be able to form a pretty correct idea of the mission-field occupied by our ancient Church upon the Continent.

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We have space to do little more than mention a few of the more important of the missionaries. Indeed, in regard to many of them we know but little except their names and the places at which they wrought; while, doubtless, in the case of many more, their very names have perished from among men, though they are written in the Lamb's Book of Life. One of the very earliest was Fridolin, whom we trace through France, and find afterwards founding monasteries or missionary institutes at St. Avold in the Vosges, at Strassburg, and at Säckingen on the Rhine, at Glarus and Chur in Switzerland. Of Columban we know a good deal more, as he had the good fortune to find a biographer so early as the seventh century. He came from the famous monastery of Bangor in

Ireland, and after a somewhat chequered life in France, we find him founding the famous monastery of Luxeuil, already referred to, then working in Eastern Switzerland, and finally founding another well-known monastery at Bobbio, in a glen of the Apennines. We only refer to St. Gall, who has been already mentioned, to say that multitudes of churches bear his name, not only in Eastern Switzerland, but also in the Vorarlberg, in Bavaria, Baden, and Alsace, a fact which testifies, if not to the extent of his personal work, at least to the wide extent of his influence. He died and was buried at St. Gall after a long and laborious life of ninety-five years. We catch glimpses through the twilight of another distinguished worker of the name of Killeen moving about in various districts. We see him finally settling down with his twelve brethren at Würzburg, of which he is still the patron saint, and labouring with much success in the conversion of the neighbouring districts. Still more illustrious is the name of Rupert, the Apostle of Bavaria, whose nationality may be somewhat doubtful, but whose Church connection seems tolerably certain. He wrought out from Regensburg, and had the honour of converting the heathen duke of the country. Thence we find him descending the Danube as far as lower Pannonia, and afterwards founding monasteries at Seekirchen and Salzburg, in which last city he spent his closing years as abbot-bishop, and wrought with blessed effect over all the surrounding regions. Another missionary, almost equally distinguished, was Trudpert, the great Apostle of the Alemannians, a heathen tribe that mainly inhabited East Switzerland, the south of Baden, and Würtemberg. The centre of his work seems to have been Freiburg in Breisgau, the noble spire of whose ancient cathedral is familiar to every traveller in the valley of the Rhine. Another, of the name of Disibod, settled down in the valley of the Nahe, between Bingen and Kreuznach, helped to Christianise the neighbourhood, and planted the seed of the famous abbey on the Disibodenberg, whose ancient ruins crown that picturesque hill to the present day. In the north, and further down the Rhine, we find Willibrord engaged in the blessed work, no doubt an Anglo-Saxon, but originally belonging to the Celtic Church. His work radiated out from Utrecht as its centre, far away over the flats and fens of Friesland, as far as the sacred isle of Heligoland, and also latterly, with much success, southward into Hesse and Thuringia. Of the twelve brethren whom he brought with him, one of them, by name Suidbert, became almost equally famous with his master. He wrought as missionary among the Frisians and the Bructeri, a Frankish tribe on the Lippe, and finally founded a monastery and settled down at Kaiserswerth on the Rhine. Such are only a few out of a multitude of missionaries and martyrs of the ancient Celtic Church, who sowed the seed of the Gospel in Germany. In Thuringia, their number seems to have been especially numerous, though when we strain our eyes and look into the dark, we can see only a dim nebulous light flickering through the distance, which plainly arises from the multitude of stars,

but in which there are no "bright particular stars," and only a few whose individuality is so distinct as still to be preserved in a separate name. We would only further say that as a rule they were men well fitted for the hard work they had to do; strong, determined, fearless, somewhat overbearing men, who did not hesitate at times to use the strongest language, to hew down the sacred groves and trees, and to tear down the most venerated idols, break them to pieces, and cast both them and their offerings into the nearest lake or river.

Such is a very meagre sketch of the mission field and work of our ancient national Celtic Church upon the Continent, and it only remains that we say a few words about its extinction there, and its final absorption into Rome. Strange to say, the grand instrument in this achievement was Winfrid, himself an Anglo-Saxon, and a native of Britain. He began his Continental work also as a missionary, co-operating at first with Willibrord for a short time in the north, and at a later period labouring by himself in Central Germany. He was an able, devoted, and energetic man. It is of him that the well-known incident is told in regard to cutting down the sacred oak at Geismar. That oak was the grand barrier to the spread of Christianity in the district, and Winfrid determined to hew it down. His intention was made known, the people gathered together, they looked on in wonder, some half believing, others filled with a vague fear or wrath which they repressed with difficulty. Meanwhile Winfrid stripped and applied the axe to the root of the tree. The sacred oak rang beneath his sturdy blows, it began to shake and tremble, and finally with a crash it fell. But the heavens did not collapse nor the earth quake, and the spell was broken for ever. With the materials which it furnished, the missionary built a little church, in which they who erewhile worshipped Odin beneath its shade learned to worship Jesus. The great life-work, however, of Winfrid consisted in bringing all the German regions which had been Christianised by the Celtic or Anglo-Saxon missionaries into conformity with Rome, a result which, through the aid of the Popes and the powerful Carovingian kings, he was only too successful in achieving. As the reward of his exertions and success he was made Archbishop of Mainz. In 755, when on a journey to Utrecht, he was murdered by some heathen Saxons; afterwards he was canonised as a saint under the name of St. Boniface; and he has ever since been regarded as the Roman Catholic Apostle of Germany. For some time later we may still find throughout those wide mission-fields fading traces of the peculiarities of the ancient Celtic Church, but from the time of Boniface it ceased to exist as an independent Church, and the numerous missionaries who still continued to come over from the now Romanised British Isles came and wrought expressly in the interests of Rome.

ALEXANDER MAIR.



## THEOLOGIAN OF THE DAY—DORNER.

ON the 20th of June, 1809, in the village of Nenhausen-ob-Eck in Würtemberg, was born a man who has exercised a very special influence on the religious life of Germany—Dr. Isaac August Dorner. Few individuals in the course of threescore years and ten have filled so many offices and discharged so many duties. A curate in youth over the pastoral charge of his father, a traveller in search of knowledge in foreign lands, a successive occupant of five professorial chairs, a councillor of the Upper Consistory, a distinguished contributor to Herzog's Encyclopædia, a co-editor of the *Jarbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, and the author of two works which are already established as theological standards, Dr. Dorner's range of enterprise has indeed been wide and varied. The period through which his life has led, if not long in its duration, has been large in its intensity. In the course of these seventy years, the world in general, and the German world in particular, has completely changed its standpoint. At the time of his birth the unity of the German nations was a problem in abeyance; he has lived to see its solution. At the time of his birth the centre of German unity threatened to be Paris; he has lived to find it concentrated at Berlin. At the time of his birth the influence of German literature was insignificant out of Germany; he has lived to behold it cosmopolitan and paramount.

But, contemporaneously with his boyhood, there was going on in his own country and throughout Europe a process of mental revolution, far more wide in its range, and far more sweeping in its effects, than any political changes. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the claims of supernaturalism had been compelled to yield to the claims of the logical understanding, and men had estimated the value of every religious doctrine by its capacity or its incapacity to stand the test of mathematical demonstration. That world had now passed away. Already had Rationalism received its death-blow. England, under the reviving influence of Methodism, had shaken off the arguments of the deistic controversy. France, under the imperial rule of Napoleon, had ceased to be impressed with the licence of the Encyclopædists. Germany, through the ponderous strokes of Kant, had shattered Rationalism with her own weapons. But the real difficulty had begun where the shattering process had ended. English Methodism had succeeded in placing a new monarch on the vacant throne; German speculation had not got beyond the stage of deposition. Rationalism was dead, but what was living? What system was to supply to the minds of men that blank which the demolition of the old system had left unfilled? For a time it seemed as if the blank were to be itself the object of worship. Fichte had succeeded in resting his own mind, and was trying to rest the minds

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old Latin literature. We only mention two or three of the more important, such as Luxeuil in the Western Vosges, which was the most famous school of Christendom in the seventh century; Rheinau, Hohenau, Würzburg, Regensburg, Murbach, and many more. Above all, as a conspicuous specimen, we may draw attention in a sentence or two to St. Gall, in Switzerland. It was founded by St. Gall, a Celt and a companion of Columban, the founder of Luxeuil. When his master was about to retire into Italy, he parted from him, and chose to settle down in the narrow valley of the Steinach, where the busy town of St. Gall now stands. The district was at that time one dense forest, full of bears, wolves, serpents, and other wild beasts. There is the usual amount of legend connected with the settlement of the missionary, about bears yielding a miraculous obedience, devils driven out of the possessed, and demons giving vent to mournful wailings about the hard times which were now coming upon them. The saint soon gathered together the customary number of twelve young men, and began to train and instruct them for mission work among the surrounding Alemanni. He erected the humble buildings necessary for his purpose, and soon began to grow in favour with the neighbouring chiefs or kings. The monastery became a great mission-centre, and finally the ruling power in the Church in all the surrounding regions. The convent grew large and rich, still larger and richer, and finally became one of the most famous north of the Alps. Its inmates devoted much attention, as in all similar institutions, to education, and were also much occupied in copying old manuscripts, so that the library became peculiarly rich and large, especially in manuscripts pertaining to the ancient Celtic Church, some of which remain unto this day. The monastery passed through a very chequered existence. From the eighth to the tenth century, it continued to be one of the most renowned schools of Europe. At the Reformation, the town rebelled against it, and threw off its hard yoke, and finally, in 1805, it was completely abolished. In the old monastic library, which, to a large extent, is still preserved in the city, are found many of the old manuscripts referred to above, which make that library the very richest in this department in all Switzerland.

We have space to do little more than mention a few of the more important of the missionaries. Indeed, in regard to many of them we know but little except their names and the places at which they wrought; while, doubtless, in the case of many more, their very names have perished from among men, though they are written in the Lamb's Book of Life. One of the very earliest was Fridolin, whom we trace through France, and find afterwards founding monasteries or missionary institutes at St. Avold in the Vosges, at Strassburg, and at Säckingen on the Rhine, at Glarus and Chur in Switzerland. Of Columban we know a good deal more, as he had the good fortune to find a biographer so early as the seventh century. He came from the famous monastery of Bangor in

Ireland, and after a somewhat chequered life in France, we find him founding the famous monastery of Luxeuil, already referred to, then working in Eastern Switzerland, and finally founding another well-known monastery at Bobbio, in a glen of the Apennines. We only refer to St. Gall, who has been already mentioned, to say that multitudes of churches bear his name, not only in Eastern Switzerland, but also in the Vorarlberg, in Bavaria, Baden, and Alsace, a fact which testifies, if not to the extent of his personal work, at least to the wide extent of his influence. He died and was buried at St. Gall after a long and laborious life of ninety-five years. We catch glimpses through the twilight of another distinguished worker of the name of Killeen moving about in various districts. We see him finally settling down with his twelve brethren at Würzburg, of which he is still the patron saint, and labouring with much success in the conversion of the neighbouring districts. Still more illustrious is the name of Rupert, the Apostle of Bavaria, whose nationality may be somewhat doubtful, but whose Church connection seems tolerably certain. He wrought out from Regensburg, and had the honour of converting the heathen duke of the country. Thence we find him descending the Danube as far as lower Pannonia, and afterwards founding monasteries at Seekirchen and Salzburg, in which last city he spent his closing years as abbot-bishop, and wrought with blessed effect over all the surrounding regions. Another missionary, almost equally distinguished, was Trudpert, the great Apostle of the Alemannians, a heathen tribe that mainly inhabited East Switzerland, the south of Baden, and Württemberg. The centre of his work seems to have been Freiburg in Breisgau, the noble spire of whose ancient cathedral is familiar to every traveller in the valley of the Rhine. Another, of the name of Disibod, settled down in the valley of the Nahe, between Bingen and Kreuznach, helped to Christianise the neighbourhood, and planted the seed of the famous abbey on the Disibodenberg, whose ancient ruins crown that picturesque hill to the present day. In the north, and further down the Rhine, we find Willibrord engaged in the blessed work, no doubt an Anglo-Saxon, but originally belonging to the Celtic Church. His work radiated out from Utrecht as its centre, far away over the flats and fens of Friesland, as far as the sacred isle of Heligoland, and also latterly, with much success, southward into Hesse and Thuringia. Of the twelve brethren whom he brought with him, one of them, by name Suidbert, became almost equally famous with his master. He wrought as missionary among the Frisians and the Bructeri, a Frankish tribe on the Lippe, and finally founded a monastery and settled down at Kaiserswerth on the Rhine. Such are only a few out of a multitude of missionaries and martyrs of the ancient Celtic Church, who sowed the seed of the Gospel in Germany. In Thuringia, their number seems to have been especially numerous, though when we strain our eyes and look into the dark, we can see only a dim nebulous light flickering through the distance, which plainly arises from the multitude of stars,



but in which there are no "bright particular stars," and only a few whose individuality is so distinct as still to be preserved in a separate name. We would only further say that as a rule they were men well fitted for the hard work they had to do; strong, determined, fearless, somewhat overbearing men, who did not hesitate at times to use the strongest language, to hew down the sacred groves and trees, and to tear down the most venerated idols, break them to pieces, and cast both them and their offerings into the nearest lake or river.

Such is a very meagre sketch of the mission field and work of our ancient national Celtic Church upon the Continent, and it only remains that we say a few words about its extinction there, and its final absorption into Rome. Strange to say, the grand instrument in this achievement was Winfrid, himself an Anglo-Saxon, and a native of Britain. He began his Continental work also as a missionary, co-operating at first with Willibrord for a short time in the north, and at a later period labouring by himself in Central Germany. He was an able, devoted, and energetic man. It is of him that the well-known incident is told in regard to cutting down the sacred oak at Geismar. That oak was the grand barrier to the spread of Christianity in the district, and Winfrid determined to hew it down. His intention was made known, the people gathered together, they looked on in wonder, some half believing, others filled with a vague fear or wrath which they repressed with difficulty. Meanwhile Winfrid stripped and applied the axe to the root of the tree. The sacred oak rang beneath his sturdy blows, it began to shake and tremble, and finally with a crash it fell. But the heavens did not collapse nor the earth quake, and the spell was broken for ever. With the materials which it furnished, the missionary built a little church, in which they who erewhile worshipped Odin beneath its shade learned to worship Jesus. The great life-work, however, of Winfrid consisted in bringing all the German regions which had been Christianised by the Celtic or Anglo-Saxon missionaries into conformity with Rome, a result which, through the aid of the Popes and the powerful Carolingian kings, he was only too successful in achieving. As the reward of his exertions and success he was made Archbishop of Mainz. In 755, when on a journey to Utrecht, he was murdered by some heathen Saxons; afterwards he was canonised as a saint under the name of St. Boniface; and he has ever since been regarded as the Roman Catholic Apostle of Germany. For some time later we may still find throughout those wide mission-fields fading traces of the peculiarities of the ancient Celtic Church, but from the time of Boniface it ceased to exist as an independent Church, and the numerous missionaries who still continued to come over from the now Romanised British Isles came and wrought expressly in the interests of Rome.

ALEXANDER MAIR.

## THEOLOGIAN OF THE DAY—DORNER.

ON the 20th of June, 1809, in the village of Nenhausen-ob-Eck in Würtemberg, was born a man who has exercised a very special influence on the religious life of Germany—Dr. Isaac August Dörner. Few individuals in the course of threescore years and ten have filled so many offices and discharged so many duties. A curate in youth over the pastoral charge of his father, a traveller in search of knowledge in foreign lands, a successive occupant of five professorial chairs, a councillor of the Upper Consistory, a distinguished contributor to Herzog's Encyclopædia, a co-editor of the *Jarbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, and the author of two works which are already established as theological standards, Dr. Dörner's range of enterprise has indeed been wide and varied. The period through which his life has led, if not long in its duration, has been large in its intensity. In the course of these seventy years, the world in general, and the German world in particular, has completely changed its standpoint. At the time of his birth the unity of the German nations was a problem in abeyance; he has lived to see its solution. At the time of his birth the centre of German unity threatened to be Paris; he has lived to find it concentrated at Berlin. At the time of his birth the influence of German literature was insignificant out of Germany; he has lived to behold it cosmopolitan and paramount.

But, contemporaneously with his boyhood, there was going on in his own country and throughout Europe a process of mental revolution, far more wide in its range, and far more sweeping in its effects, than any political changes. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the claims of supernaturalism had been compelled to yield to the claims of the logical understanding, and men had estimated the value of every religious doctrine by its capacity or its incapacity to stand the test of mathematical demonstration. That world had now passed away. Already had Rationalism received its death-blow. England, under the reviving influence of Methodism, had shaken off the arguments of the deistic controversy. France, under the imperial rule of Napoleon, had ceased to be impressed with the licence of the Encyclopædists. Germany, through the ponderous strokes of Kant, had shattered Rationalism with her own weapons. But the real difficulty had begun where the shattering process had ended. English Methodism had succeeded in placing a new monarch on the vacant throne; German speculation had not got beyond the stage of deposition. Rationalism was dead, but what was living? What system was to supply to the minds of men that blank which the demolition of the old system had left unfilled? For a time it seemed as if the blank were to be itself the object of worship. Fichte had succeeded in resting his own mind, and was trying to rest the minds

of his countrymen in something which, if it were not a contradiction in terms, we would call a system of methodical anarchy.

But it was impossible for the German mind to rest in any anarchy however systematic. A void had been left, and mental like material nature abhors a vacuum. The result was that almost simultaneously Germany was flooded with speculative efforts to supply the chasm created by the fall of Rationalism. These efforts took their character from the different types of mind which habitually characterise the intellectual world; but numerous as they were, they may all be reduced to three heads. The poetic intellect sought to find rest in weaving a living garment for nature. The logical intellect endeavoured to compensate for the loss of Rationalism by finding a logical process even in its mental intuitions. The mystical intellect fell back behind nature and logic, and sought to reinstate its religion by the realisation of its union with a transcendental life.

Such were the three orders under which the various phases of German thought had arranged themselves during the first quarter of the present century—orders which, to a student already familiar with the subject, can be best described in the three names Schelling, Hegel, and Schleiermacher. It will be seen, then, that during the youth of Dorner there was a singular parallel between the political and the intellectual aspects of Germany. Both revealed the spectacle of a number of disconnected systems, or of systems connected by a very thin line of confederation. The political States were willing to unite on the common basis of Teutonic liberty; the philosophic systems were ready to recognise an alliance, amidst their differences, through a common search for truth. But there, in each case, the confederation ended; the political and the intellectual union of Germany were alike merely theories awaiting their evolution in the future. The former of these problems has, we know, been solved; it would be too much to say that any permanent solution has yet been given to the latter. Nevertheless, it was this latter that during the first thirty years of our century chiefly engrossed the Teutonic mind. The great want and the great demand of that period was the production of an intellectual Bismark, who would do for the philosophic systems of Germany what the political Bismark has done for her petty governments—reduce them into a unity.

The young mind of Dorner caught the current of his age. He was fascinated by the prospect of an intellectual amalgamation in which the various conflicting systems, or at least the best parts of these systems, would be blended into one. The tone of his intellect was essentially eclectic. His mind was never originative, in the strict sense of that term; he was a patient observer, an impartial critic, and a careful extractor of all that was good in the surrounding theories of his day. He profoundly appreciated the efforts of contemporary philosophy, and was able to retain his appreciation even where he was compelled to withhold his consent. But in the mind of Dorner the love of philosophy

was not the absorbing element; alike from nature and from education, he had received a bias towards evangelical religion. He was, as we should say in Scotland, "a son of the manse." His home associations had been those of the Church. He was himself a student for the ministry. He had already been attracted by the more religious side of the theology of Schleiermacher, which was then the only rampart between the German mind and absolute negation. His eclecticism, accordingly, had taken an evangelical bent. The question which seems to have stirred alike his intellect and his heart was this—Could religion be made the head of the sciences? Was it possible to refer all systems of theology to one common law which was written in the heart? Was it possible to bind together the different views of the logical understanding by means of one golden thread woven out of the religious intuitions? That, we believe, has been the life-question with Dr. Dorner, and the answer to that question has been his contribution to theological literature. But, if we are not altogether mistaken, Dorner has been indebted for his answer to another influence besides that of his national culture—an influence, in one sense, directly opposed to the whole results of his national culture, and which he, of all men, would be the least willing to acknowledge.

Almost immediately after quitting the university of Tübingen, Dorner visited England. Such a visit to him meant a great deal; it meant the opposing of a new force to all the old forces of his life. It is scarcely possible to overestimate the contrast between the German and the English type of intellect; it is altogether impossible to overestimate the effect of that contrast upon a speculative youth fresh from Tübingen. The German by his very nature is prone to look at universals; the Englishman, alike by constitution and education, is prompted to regard particulars. The German is attracted by the laws of things; the Englishman by the things apart from their laws. The German is engrossed with principles; the Englishman centres his interest almost entirely in persons. When we ascend into the field of theology, the contrast which is found pervading all departments bursts into a climax. The God of the philosophic German is too often merely an impersonal essence; the God of the practical Englishman is too frequently what Matthew Arnold calls "a non-natural and exaggerated man in the next street." At no period was the contrast more marked than at the time of Dorner's arrival. Germany was then at the height of speculative abstraction; England, in spite of the Germanising influence of Coleridge, was in a high stage of empiricism. The impressions which Dorner received of England were what might have been expected; they will be found recorded in his most recent work, "*The History of Protestant Theology.*" In this book, though it does not profess to be a record of personal experiences, the mind of the reader is irresistibly impressed with the sensation that he is reading the travelling notes of a not very friendly and a not very well-informed foreigner. We are perpetually made aware that we are in

the autocratic atmosphere of Berlin, and that German imperialism is in the air. The English nation is viewed from a serene height, and the distance in this case lends neither enchantment nor correctness to the view. We are somewhat startled to hear that English theology has no history, that English ideal contemplation never exists except as a reaction against excessive materialism, and that English empiricism made our country, as it made Holland, the natural home of the deists. We are more than startled to hear that there is no essential difference between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, that the Church of Scotland is as much a hierarchy as the Church of England, and that what makes them both hierarchies is the belief that church government is necessary to salvation. We are somewhat surprised, too, to find that Dr. Dorner so dismally deplores the absence of catholic unity manifested in sectarianism. It is quite true that Pietism in Germany and Methodism in England both strongly tended to separate the individual from the race, but in so doing it cannot be said that either Pietism or Methodism was at variance with Protestant unity. Protestant unity must be woven from within, and must therefore begin with separation. Before a man can learn what belongs to him through humanity, he must be taught what is peculiar to him as an individual. Protestantism is the dissolution of catholic unity, but it is a dissolution which is the prelude to a wider reconstruction. The stones of the old temple have to be taken down one by one, but only in order that one by one they may be arranged into a higher symmetry which shall be based on a deeper foundation and framed on a nobler plan.

There is one point, however, in which we are thoroughly at one with Dr. Dorner in his criticism of the English nation. He points out that the leading weakness of our religious life is the tendency to separate between matters of fact and matters of faith; in other words, to make our religion a department by itself. It cannot be denied that since the days of Lord Bacon this has been the distinguishing weakness of the British intellect. It is a weakness which has been made use of by very different types of mind. It has often sheltered the sceptic. Hobbes in his attacks on Christianity, and Hume in his attacks on the spirit of religion, could conceal themselves behind the shield, that what was impossible in philosophy might be possible to faith. But it is not only sceptics who have displayed this tendency; it will be found in the most orthodox believers. There are few men for whom we entertain a greater respect than Michael Faraday; he was an eminent man of science and a not less eminent Christian, yet his science was in spite of his Christianity, and his Christianity was in spite of his science. Faraday is, in this respect, the type of the English intellect, wherever that intellect touches the sphere of theology. From that type Dorner revolted. That Christianity was the truth in the Church, and science the truth in the laboratory, that prayer was an act of worship, and business an act of worldliness, that God was in the history of Israel, and man in the history of England,



were positions from which his soul recoiled. He felt, and felt truly, that Parsism, Manichæism, and all manner of dualisms, were against the spirit of the nineteenth century, and he longed for a representation of God which would reveal him in union with his universe, in contact with his works, and in movement with the laws which men call natural.

It was the design of Dorner to make such a representation of God, and when he returned to Germany he was full of his design. But little did Dorner dream how strongly he had been helped towards his work by that very English element to which he had taken so unkindly. He carried back with him the last thing he wished to carry—a British influence. The English nation had supplied to him the one thing which he needed for the construction of a religious science or a scientific religion. Germany had given him an abstract mind and an abstract system, but abstraction is only the half of religion. To give life to an abstract thought there is required that very element of individuality, of personality, of concrete existence which forms the distinguishing feature of the British character. If Dorner had recoiled from this tendency, he must have been driven nearer to it by the opposite extreme which he met in his own country. If he had found the God of England narrowed into "a man in the next street," he found the God of Germany widened out of manhood altogether. The abstract tendency of the German mind was running to an acme. The right Hegelianism had been vanquished by the left. A youth of seven-and-twenty had made one of the boldest essays in destructive criticism on which the human intellect had yet ventured. In that so-called "Life of Jesus," Strauss had robbed him of all the elements which make life worth possessing, and the figure of the Christ had faded away into the mists of ancient legend. But Germany was not yet satisfied; even the outlines of a figure in the mist excited her spirit of destruction. Ferdinand Baur, of Tübingen, was pressing on with a more thorough theory of demolition, which proposed to engulf in a stream of tendencies the last retreating shadow of a personal Christ. Bruno Bauer was denouncing all religion which had its root in the heart under the sarcastic epithet of the pectoral theology. Feuerbach was calling out to the ever-vanishing phantom with which his imagination had filled the heavens, "We adore thee, thou Great Negation." There were not wanting signs that the Great Negation would reveal itself in an opposite attitude from that which merits adoration, and it required no very prophetic insight to see that the worship which had begun in the joyful optimism of a Hegel would be tearfully extinguished in the pessimism of a Schopenhauer.

Such was the state of affairs when Dorner stepped on the arena of theological literature. His design from the beginning seems to have been to offer a reactionary tendency to the prevailing negative views. But in doing so he was wisely unwilling to support the opposite extreme—that of exalting religion at the expense of culture. The thought in the mind of Dorner seems to have been this, would it not be possible to

unite an abstract philosophy with the worship of a purely personal God? He wished to try whether any meeting-place could be found between those speculations which deified the universe and those inextinguishable intuitions of the heart which demand a God above the universe. Was there an eternal gulf between thought and feeling? Was there no possible union of universal law and personal life? Was there no point in which the practical individualism of the Englishman could combine harmoniously with the abstract life of the German?

The answer to that question was one of the greatest theological works in the German language. In 1839, Dr. Dörner published his "History of the Development of the Doctrine of Christ's Person." The very title was significant. At a time when the centre of nearly all theological treatises was a vague impersonal life, it was something to find a young man of thirty not ashamed to base the foundation of theology on the belief of a personal existence. It is this that most of all excites our moral admiration in the perusal of this work. There are many who would hesitate to accept its theoretic standpoint; there are many who would object to some of its leading positions; but there is none who will not acknowledge that its tendency is elevating and noble. It is an earnest and an honest attempt to give life to the dead forms of religious science, to breathe into the dry bones of speculation until they shall become a living soul. As such it merits our respect and our attention, and we shall not think it an altogether unprofitable labour to cast a brief glance over its more prominent features.

Dörner wrote his work in order, if possible, to reconcile the conflict between the systems of theological science and the intuitions of the religious heart. In order to reconcile that conflict, he proposed to construct a science of the heart itself. He had all along reclined on the basis of Schleiermacher, whose standpoint was that of feeling, and he now proposed to make that basis the foundation of a universal science. Schelling had made a trinity out of nature; Hegel had made a trinity out of reason; Dörner said in effect, I will make a trinity out of feeling. He took his stand firmly on the evangelical definition of God. God was love, and therefore He was a trinity. Love implies two, and it is itself the third or spiritual personality which makes them one. The Divine life cannot be alone. God must have a second self, a mirror of His own being, a brightness of His glory, and an express image of His person. What is this mirrored image in which the Divine life beholds Himself? It is a gigantic figure, whose base is nature, whose middle is humanity, and whose head is that Logos or Word whom St. John sees at the beginning of all things. The pre-existent Christ is the Other of God, but He is also the Head of the universe. In Him nature is a personal God, humanity is a personal God, the universe is itself Divine. The visible world of matter and the invisible world of mind are both the parts of one living, breathing organism which is deriving its impressions from the headship of a personal life that "lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

But let us follow Dorner down the stream of his speculations. In this vast organism there is one member which is both incomplete by nature and disorganised by accident; it is the life of the individual soul. That which has disorganised it is sin, but it is not alone its sin which needs remedy: Dr. Dorner holds distinctly that man's nature was created intellectually imperfect, and he quotes the testimony of St. Paul in support of his view. The first Adam was not made a quickening spirit, but only a living soul. Accordingly, even had there been no fall, it was inevitable that there should be a reconstruction. Christ, and not Adam, was all along the ideal of God's creation. How was that ideal to be realised? There must clearly be a new outpouring of the Divine life. The eternal Logos who stood at the summit of the universe must pour down a portion of His being into the organism below. Here is the grand scheme of incarnation—the meeting of the finite and the infinite. The Divine life imparts itself to a human life, not all at once, but progressively, according as the stages of the human life are able to hold it. It pours into the breast of Christ's infancy as much as infancy can receive without being destroyed by its reception. It imparts to the childhood all that childhood can take without ceasing to represent the first years of humanity. It gives to the youth that fulness of Divine life which is consistent with the characteristics of youth, which may leave room for the studies in the temple, and not disdain the toil of the workshop of Nazareth. It breathes into the manhood so much as will make manhood full, so much as will enable it to support its cross down the dolorous way, and to stand unshrinking in the valley of the shadow of death. At last, to the Son of Man ascending from the grave the Divine life imparts itself absolutely; all power is given unto Him in heaven and on earth. The heavenly outpouring is no longer proportioned to the earthly stages, for the Son of Man by resurrection has outstripped all stages, has ceased to be the denizen of a special country or a particular age, and has come forth a citizen of the world, and a being coeval with all times.

It will be seen from this exposition that Dr. Dorner is jealous for the humanity of Christ. He will not allow it to be said, or even thought, that the fact of His human growth is for a moment inconsistent with the fact of His Divine nature. Dr. Dorner would strongly have repudiated the tendency of mediæval art to paint a supernatural child, feeling as he would that the supernatural was here the unnatural. He would not have accepted the beautiful child-Christ of Raphael, for he would have felt that His beauty was a superhuman loveliness. The beauty which Dr. Dorner desires to see is that of a Divine life growing with each stage of the human life. He will not admit that Divine progress is inconsistent with Divine perfection. He asks what we mean by saying that Jesus was a perfect child. Do we mean that as a child He consciously possessed supernatural powers? That would make him an imperfect, because an unnatural, child. But we mean that His childhood itself is perfect, that it exhibits as were never exhibited before,

those special characteristics which constitute the child-life of humanity. Yet it does not follow from this that there is no room left for progress. The childhood of Jesus is a perfect childhood, but it is not at the same moment a perfect manhood; it must grow into that perfection. Each stage of life has a ripeness of its own. The child, the youth, and the man are capable in our thoughts, at least, of reaching an ideal glory; but there is one glory of the child, there is another glory of the youth, there is a third glory of the man, one stage differeth from another stage in glory. Each may be full, but each cannot possibly contain the same quantity of being, for the fulness of the man is larger than the fulness of the child. The Son of Man goes from strength to strength, adds perfection to perfection, ripens from bloom to bloom, until in resurrection glory He has gathered together in one the fulness of all the stages of life.

This jealousy of Dr. Dörner for the true humanity of Christ appears not less prominently in his opposition to Nestorian tendencies. He is violently opposed to thinking and speaking of the Divine and human natures as if they were two roads leading different ways; in other words, as if Christ's divinity were the antithesis of His humanity. He would have no sympathy with the oratorical contrasts drawn by many of our modern preachers. He would not allow it to be said that as God He stilled the waves, and as man slept amid the storm—that as God He healed the sick, and as man fasted and prayed—that as God He distributed the bread, and as man received ministration from the hands of others. Dr. Dörner cannot accept such a divided Christ. He regards the Divine and the human as each present in every single act. As in the movements of individual thought we are conscious at one and the same moment of a sense of limitation, and a desire to break the limit, so in the movement of the divinely-human life there was in every instant of its being the limitation of the earthly environment, and the heavenly aspiration to be free. It is the dividing of the consciousness of Christ that has divided the Christian consciousness of the world. Nowhere throughout his book is Dr. Dörner more powerful than in the elucidation of this position. The growth of church history is to him humanity's growing knowledge of the Son of Man. The first four centuries worship with the heart; they feel that the object of their worship is at once human and Divine, yet they are content to feel without seeking to comprehend. Mediæval Europe comes, and feeling flies away. Man claims to understand the mystery which the heart had been satisfied to hold without understanding, and the united life of the Master is parted into the two diverging roads of the earthly and the heavenly. Catholicism lays hold of the heavenly Christ, and worships in Him that which is Divine. His glory becomes a supernatural glory, and the Son of Man is lost in the Son of God. Protestantism runs to the opposite extreme, raises up the natural Christ from the dust of death, and sets the Son of Man on the throne of the Son of God. The nineteenth century is at last restoring the harmony. Ever increasingly is there dawning on the heart of the world

the conviction that the human Christ is not the antithesis of the Christ supernatural. Day by day we are awakening to the consciousness that the ideal of a pure and stainless humanity is itself the ideal of a life which is supernatural, and that the delineated conception of the holy, harmless, and undefiled is the revelation of "a light which never shone on sea or land." The Son of God has risen from the grave of human obloquy, but He has risen only that He may enter into union with that human conception which has sought to dethrone Him. In a more direct sense than ever before have the ideas of heaven and earth embraced each other, for nature has ceased to be the antagonist of spirit, and man has ceased to be the opposite of God. The supernatural has claimed its home no longer in the merely miraculous or outwardly marvellous, but amid the objects seen by the light of common day, and in those intuitions of the soul which are not seen, but eternal.

Here, however, we must pause; we have almost exhausted the limits assigned to us for this article. It has been our aim to reproduce the spirit rather than the letter of Dr. Dörner's theology. Believing as we do that the real difficulty of a translator is not to render accurately the words, but to manifest to a foreign reader the mind of his author, we have striven in this instance to express in English forms the spirit and the life of Dörner's work. It must be regarded as a significant circumstance that the time has arrived when that spirit and life *can* be so expressed. There was a time when German thought was inaccessible to the English mind, but through the power of mutually converging influences the barrier is beginning to melt away. If England on the one hand is growing more abstract, Germany on the other is becoming more concrete and personal. The theology of Dörner is, in spite of himself, a movement towards religious individualism. It is the virtual abandonment of a merely mystical life as a basis of religious science, and the virtual confession of the principle that all religious science must begin with the vision of the personal. It is in this direction alone that theology can look for a permanent existence. We are constantly reminded that systems of doctrine are mutable, and the experience of history has proved that systems of philosophy are fleeting. But there is a systematic unity which is deeper than either doctrines or philosophies, that unity which belongs to a system of life. If, like Dr. Dörner, we shall approach the universe, not merely as the work, but as the life of God, and if we regard God Himself not merely as a life, but as a Being who is living, we shall have reached in one thought the marriage of the German and the English intellect. We shall have found a place for Christianity, not, it may be, in a scheme of mere doctrines, but in something which is higher far—a scheme of universal nature, where the forces of matter and spirit shall meet together around the united life of Him who is at once the Son of Man and the Son of God.

GEORGE MATHESON.



## CHURCH ACTION IN REGARD TO TEMPERANCE.

**B**ELIEVING that it would be of much benefit to bring together in short compass a statement of the attitude assumed and action taken by Churches of the Presbyterian Alliance in regard to temperance, we recently sent a little paper, containing half-a-dozen questions, to the conveners of temperance committees, or other persons known to be actively interested in temperance, in the Presbyterian Churches of England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, and Canada. It seemed to us that, in the first instance, the inquiry might be limited to English-speaking Churches, and to those within such limits as to distance as would enable us, in the present number, to present a digest of the whole. Owing to the overwhelming difficulty of getting answers in time, we are unable to fulfil our intention in this number. We will, therefore, postpone the digest to a future time, and meanwhile publish in full some of the statements obtained in answer to our queries. Our other correspondents, we trust, will take the hint, and we shall be happy to receive similar statements from Colonial Churches not yet communicated with. With Continental Churches temperance has not yet become a burning question, and yet we have good cause to know that in Switzerland and elsewhere it is creating great anxiety in the minds of many. We shall, therefore, be grateful for information regarding it. It may be well to state that the points to which attention was directed in the note of queries sent out, and on which the information supplied in the following papers bears, were these :—1. The most characteristic resolutions on temperance passed by the Church, showing its standpoint or basis. 2. Methods promoted by the temperance committee, or recommended by the Church—*e.g.*, sermons, publications, associations, Bands of Hope. 3. Collateral efforts, in which members of the Church take part—*e.g.*, petitions to Parliament on Sunday closing, restriction of licences, British workman public-houses, and other practical measures. 4. Societies or movements among divinity students. 5. Women's efforts. 6. Any other information bearing on the subject.

The papers now published are informational, the writers alone being responsible for opinions indicated.—EDITOR.

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### I.—IRISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

What is known as the Temperance Reformation in Ireland was commenced in Ulster by the late Dr. Edgar in 1827. Immediately after, the cause was espoused by the Rev. William G. Carr, of New Ross. The pledge was simply "abstinence from distilled spirit." The moderate use of milder liquors was allowed. War against the drink and the drinking customs of society was waged with great vigour, especially in the North. Dr. Edgar threw into it all the vehemence of his nature.

Men of influence rallied round him. Every section of the Presbyterian Church encouraged the movement. The tone of society and the habits of the people were sensibly changed.

Some years later, Father Mathew raised the standard among the Roman Catholics in the South. Like another Peter the Hermit, he traversed the country. His power was electrical; all classes yielded to it. Distilleries were closed; several dealers in drink were ruined. Yet the movement soon subsided. Founded not so much on principle as on sentiment, mingled with a superstitious regard for the sacred office of its great apostle, the work of the southern priest did not take root. Few traces of it now remain. The work of Edgar was more enduring, and bore more solid fruit.

It was soon felt, however, that a deeper and more effective blow must be struck ere the gigantic power of the drink would be overthrown; that mere abstinence from distilled spirit would never effect a thorough and lasting cure. So long as men indulged even in the moderate use of intoxicants as beverages, the race of drunkards would be perpetuated. Many saw that moderate drinking is the school of drunkenness. This led to an advance movement—to the formation of societies on the principle of *total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks as beverages*. Not a few still adhere to the old system, but active temperance work has for many years been left in the hands of the total abstiners.

In 1850, a few ministers of the Presbyterian Church formed themselves into an association on the following basis:—"1. We believe it to be expedient to abstain from things in themselves lawful, when thereby we can more effectually promote our neighbour's welfare. 2. As the use of intoxicating liquors, so fearfully prevalent, is one of the chief occasions of crime, poverty, disease, and degradation, impedes the progress of the Gospel, and arises in a great measure from the general observance of drinking customs, we believe that the circumstances are such at the present time as, on the ground of Christian expediency, already stated, to demand abstinence from all intoxicating drinks." This gave form and new life to the temperance reformation in Ulster. From that day the cause has taken a deeper and a stronger hold on the public mind. This society now embraces nearly half the ministers of the General Assembly, and the number is rapidly increasing. It embraces a large proportion of the licentiates and more than two-thirds of the candidates for the ministry. Many act on the principles of this society, though not enrolled as members. On the whole, I believe I am correct in stating that, of all the ministers of the several Presbyterian Churches in Ireland, fully two-thirds are practically abstiners.

A cause that has taken such hold on the public mind will soon make its way into the Church Courts. Accordingly, we find the General Assembly giving marked attention to it at every annual meeting. It appoints a large committee to prosecute the work, and year by year pronounces a judgment on all the leading features of the movement. Looking over the records for some years past, we find it sending petitions to Parliament in favour of the "Permissive Bill," and "The Sunday Closing Bill," and faithfully warning all the people under its care against the liquor traffic and the drinking customs of the times. In 1875, it issued instructions to presbyteries to consider the whole subject and report. This was almost universally complied with; and in the following year, when these reports were submitted, it was found that of thirty-seven presbyteries into which the Church is divided, twenty-one brought in a deliverance in favour of total abstinence. These reports were ordered to be printed and circulated among the people, and among other resolutions the Assembly passed the following:—"That as the Assembly has already given instruction to train up the young in the habit of abstaining from intoxicating drinks by enrolling them in 'Bands of Hope,' we cannot but commend the action of those who would lead them in after-life in the practice in which they have been so trained; and as no less than twenty-one presbyteries have declared in favour of total abstinence from drinking customs or from intoxicating drinks as ordinary

beverages, to commend such abstinence to the consideration and adoption of our people." This is the most distinct and emphatic testimony on the part of the Supreme Court. It is a recommendation of total abstinence to all the people under its care. The progress of this principle as the rule of social life, so far as regards the future ministry of the Church, is most encouraging. The younger men are nearly all abstainers. The students at the Theological Colleges of Derry and Belfast have an association for the advancement of the same principle among themselves.

The other Churches in Ireland have taken up the cause with hearty goodwill. The smaller sections have been long in the field, and have rendered most effective service. Within the last two or three years, the Protestant Episcopal Church has shown great zeal in the same direction. Every diocese is organised and agitated. Not a few of the clergy have come out boldly, and by precept and example seek to draw their people from those social habits which have proved so demoralising. In the Romish Church there is something like a revival of the Father Mathew movement, but in a form that is likely to prove more enduring. Many of the bishops occupy the van, and use their vast spiritual influence to put down drinking customs among their people. By their own authority, some of them established Sunday closing throughout their dioceses before Professor's Smyth's bill received the sanction of the Legislature.

Outside the Churches, the general public are intensely in earnest on the subject. The result is a great variety of organisations more or less effective in waging the same warfare. In the metropolis, "The Sunday Closing Association" was vigilant and powerful through the long struggle of Professor Smyth's Bill; and now that victory has been achieved, it has merged into an organisation for fighting the battle on broader and more general grounds. The "Irish Temperance League," whose centre of operations is Belfast, aims at rousing the whole country in favour of what is called "local option" *versus* the licensing system—the extension of Smyth's Bill to every town in Ireland—early closing on Saturdays—the organisation of Bands of Hope—and the establishment of coffee-stands for the working classes. It is a powerful organisation, embracing nearly all sections of the community, and enjoying a large share of public confidence. "The Women's Temperance Association," founded in Belfast some three years ago, with affiliated branches throughout the country, has brought a new agency into the field, and bids fair to rival organisations of longer standing in effective work. It aims specially at two things—banishing the drink from *the table*, and employing the sweet and potent influence of Christian women in purifying and ennobling the home-life of the people. It seeks to show that the cup which has wrought such ruin in the land, is not necessary to the exercise of hospitality or the diffusion of social joy. Speaking of organisations outside the Church, I have only to add what you might readily anticipate,—the symbolic Order of the Good Templars received a cordial welcome on the hospitable shores of Ireland.

Your readers may be curious to know the effect of the Sunday Closing Bill. It has only been six months in operation, and yet its annals read like a romance. The public journals, friendly or hostile while the struggle lasted, are of one heart and mind in eulogy. North and south they speak of its influence in the warmest terms of congratulation and hope. Judges, magistrates, and ministers of religion, all speak as if the dawn of a brighter day were rising on the dear old country. Perhaps the most striking proof of the success of the measure is the wail of the licensed victuallers. They tell us they are being ruined, and raise the cry for compensation. I wonder who will compensate the millions that have been ruined, cursed, many of them eternally, through this traffic in strong drink.

I close by referring to a most gratifying element that now distinguishes the agitation on behalf of temperance. The war is carried on more and more in the spirit of faith and prayer. It is not a mere negative remedy that is presented. The most prominent and powerful advocates seek to bring the gospel of purity and peace, liberty and love to bear on the heart. In dealing with the drunkard,

the aim is not merely to make him sober, but to bring him to "the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind."

ROBERT KNOX.

## II.—UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SCOTLAND.

The relation in which this Church stands to the temperance movement may be inferred from the following facts. Until about forty years ago it had done little or nothing in a corporate capacity for the cause. The first symptoms of awakening to a due recognition of the movement discovered themselves in the Theological Hall. About this time there entered it some six students who had espoused total abstinence. These young men possessing superior talent and great earnestness, not only gained many of their fellow-students to their views, but did much to promote the cause of temperance in the adjacent towns and villages. As they all attained to important positions in the Church, we trace the prominence which this movement henceforth assumed in no small degree to their influence.

In 1845, a meeting of ministers was held in Edinburgh, at which it was agreed to form a society based on what is called the short pledge—several of the brethren being disposed to go the length of personal abstinence, who felt a difficulty in withholding liquors from others. Nor has the experience of the society proved that the resolution thus to qualify the basis of union was impolitic.

The society started with a roll of fourteen ministers, eight of whom still survive. In a few years the number increased to 200, or about one-third of the entire ministry of the Church. Although twenty-eight of these recently withdrew in consequence of union with the Presbyterian Church of England, the present membership of the society amounts to 202.

The only means of a practical kind adopted by this society with the view of promoting the general cause of temperance, has been the occasional issue of an address to members and ministers of the Church; lately, the issue of a pamphlet containing a large number of testimonies to the efficacy of abstinence by ministers of the different evangelical denominations; and bringing the subject under the consideration of all ordained to the ministry—supplying them at the same time with such publications as are fitted to beget a favourable decision on behalf of abstinence from all intoxicating liquors.

The effect of this society's operations has thus been to secure the personal safety from intemperate habits of a large proportion of the ministers of the Church, and thereby save it to a certain extent from ministerial falls. Nor is this the sole amount of its influence. From the time of its start, a bolder tone began to characterise the discussion of temperance measures in its Synod. Ultimately, a committee of Synod on the subject was formed; but owing to the mixed character of its membership, it has not been able to adopt any efforts of a really effective character, beyond securing the preaching of an annual temperance sermon in the month of December in each congregation; and an occasional address or resolution of Synod condemnatory of excessive indulgence and the usages which lead to it.

The most advanced expression of sentiment on the subject is to be found in an address issued by this committee in 1873, in which total abstinence is distinctly recommended as an effectual remedy for intemperance. The following is a specimen:—"The total abstinence movement is, therefore, entitled to most careful consideration on the part of Christian men. It may be found to be true that existing emergencies demand effective measures. That it has accomplished an incalculable amount of good cannot be doubted. The numbers which it has reclaimed from inebriety, and the numbers which it has preserved from being ensnared, are beyond estimate. Whatever be the arguments adduced on behalf of moderate indulgence, it cannot be denied, that abstinence violates no law of either God or man; that it promotes health, the experience of life insurance showing, as respects longevity, an advantage of more than a third (35·25 per cent.) in favour of total abstinence practice; while it is evident that it effectually pre-

vents intemperance, and that it is the only practice in which those who have been addicted to the vice can find safety."

The fact, however, of this being the address of only a committee of Synod somewhat qualifies its authority. At the Synod's meeting held in Glasgow in 1877, the necessity of total abstinence was earnestly insisted on by several ministers and elders, without a word being uttered in opposition. While, however, the addresses delivered were fully up to the mark, the resolution carried on that occasion simply amounted to a renewed expression of hope, that the members of the Church would discourage social drinking usages, especially those connected with funerals and induction or ordination dinners, and the recommendation of practical measures for the suppression of intemperance. It was at the same time resolved that the Synod petition both Houses of Parliament with the view of securing the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the connection between the prevalence of intemperance and the public-house system in Scotland, and also between intemperance and licentiousness, as it was their conviction that these evils were promoted to a large extent by the facilities afforded for obtaining intoxicating liquors. Finally, it was declared that it appeared reasonable to the Synod that the ratepayers of specified districts be legally empowered to restrict or entirely suppress the liquor traffic in these districts if they be so disposed.

Although the Synod has never yet sanctioned the formation of Total Abstinence Societies and of Bands of Hope in the congregations under its inspection, it may be stated that many such have been formed. In Glasgow, for instance—the stronghold of United Presbyterianism—there are few congregations of the denomination which have not one or other of these associations connected with them; while several of them have both. The number of such societies is rapidly increasing, and to all appearance they will ere long be as general as congregational Sabbath schools. These societies have always been formed with the approval of the kirk-sessions.

As to British Workman Public-houses, it may be stated that while the Synod has not recommended the movement, many members of the Church have taken part in the formation of such places; and that Mr. Alexander Allan, an elder, well known in the shipping world, is chairman of the Glasgow British Workman Public-house Company.

There has been for many years a Students' Society in connection with the Theological Hall which comprises about one-third of the students attending the same. The Ministers' Society in conjunction with the Scottish Temperance League has generally, during the session of the Hall, given the entire body of the students a social entertainment, at which addresses on the subject have been delivered.

If it be fair to speak of the comparative interest taken by the different Presbyterian Churches of Scotland in the temperance movement, it may be stated that while the Established Church has taken the lead in recommending the formation of Parish Temperance Societies, the United Presbyterian Church, there is reason to believe, has the largest proportion of members acting upon the abstinence principle. In confirmation of this opinion, the following figures are given, showing the proportion of ministers connected with the different Churches who are connected with the "Scottish Temperance League"—Established Church, 23: Free Church, 83; United Presbyterian Church, 114. These figures no doubt represent ministers only; but an analysis of the entire membership of the League would show that it draws its members in about like proportions from the three great Presbyterian sections of the Church.

Perhaps a better idea may be formed of the relation of this Church to the movement by giving the names of those best known who have taken the leading part in its promotion. The Rev. John Cairns, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics; Robert Johnstone, LL.B., D.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis; John Ker, D.D., Professor of Practical Training; the late William Lindsay, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology; William Ritchie, D.D., Dunse; Alex. Wallace, D.D.; Joseph Brown, D.D.;



James Knox, D.D., all of Glasgow ; Alex. McLeod, D.D., Birkenhead ; A. B. Grosart, LL.D., Blackburn ; the late Peter M'Dowall, A.M., Alloa ; Henry Calderwood, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh ; the late William Johnston, D.D., Limekilns ; George Hutton, D.D., Paisley ; and William Reid, D.D., Edinburgh.

WM. REID.

### III.—CALVINISTIC METHODIST CHURCH OF WALES.

#### I. NORTH WALES.

The Calvinistic Methodists have always taken a high ground on the question of temperance. They took warmly to the old "moderation" pledge ; and as soon as total abstinence was heard of, upwards of forty years ago, it was taken up throughout the Principality with much earnestness. The best men in the Church, both ministers and elders, felt in a very short time that to abstain altogether was the only safe plan of dealing with intoxicating drinks, seeing that their subtle fascination, when once their ascendancy was established as a temptation, was so powerful and so destructive. Many of them at the time thought that they were making a great sacrifice, as they believed that the moderate quantity which they took was conducive to health, and they did not anticipate that they would ever go further. I remember hearing the celebrated Christmas Evans remark in a speech delivered to a very large and enthusiastic audience, that he thought that surely he was offering an ox to the Lord when he became a teetotaller, but when his eyes were opened, behold it was only a rat. Many other distinguished men belonging to various denominations—for all the Nonconformist bodies worked heartily together in the movement—gave expression to similar sentiments.

The Calvinistic Methodists throughout have been exceedingly faithful to this cause. The Associations (corresponding to your Synods) in both ends of the Principality took the matter up so warmly that it was resolved not to admit any one to church membership unless he was an abstainer ; and, *à fortiori*, the doors of the presbyteries were shut against all who were not prepared to give up the dangerous indulgence in strong drink, in however moderate quantities, and join the battle against intemperance. For several years that decision was rigidly enforced. In course of time, however, with the increase of prosperity, and especially when the family doctors began to recommend to the more respectable families the dietetic use of beer, porter, wine, &c., the rule became relaxed, and the position of the Connexion in regard to temperance was much weakened. Meanwhile, the growth of intemperance became very marked, and great were the ravages which it wrought in very many of our churches. A few years ago, however, a healthier feeling began to set in, and more especially among the younger ministers and deacons. They could not but see the evils produced by intemperance, and having more carefully studied the subject, they became more strongly convinced themselves as abstainers, and they devoted themselves with more energy to the teaching of temperance principles among their countrymen.

When Good Templary was introduced, it was received in Wales with great enthusiasm, and no section of the community took more kindly to the movement than the Calvinistic Methodists. Much good was accomplished in the Principality through this movement. Many drunkards were rescued, and are now respectable men, and many of them earnest church members. Many also, who were fast getting entangled in the meshes of temptation, became free and strong, and are now much more useful men than in their former condition they could ever have become. Temperance teaching also took a much higher ground, and the feeling for temperance in the churches is become much healthier and stronger. As a movement, I believe that the wave of Templary has pretty well spent its force in Wales, though in many neighbourhoods it still evinces a strong vitality. But the weekly meetings, the taxes, and the endless ceremonies came at length to be felt somewhat irksome among a people who have generally several services to attend every week in their chapels, who have also to contribute a good deal for

church purposes, and who are to a considerable extent of a simple if not a severe taste. But although many who once were Good Templars are so no more, large numbers are still faithful to the cause for the support of which Templary was established. I believe, indeed, that the Calvinistic Methodists, though from the commencement faithful to temperance, are at present in many respects as earnestly loyal to that cause as they ever were, if not more so.

It would be idle to quote the numerous and strong resolutions passed in the quarterly associations of the Connexion, and in the monthly meetings or presbyteries, in favour of temperance. Neither would it answer much purpose to try to find out the number of pledged abstainers among the ministers. With very few exceptions, all our ministers are abstainers, and although the elders are not perhaps quite so strong, yet non-abstainers among them also are rare exceptions. As to our divinity students, I believe that it would be difficult to find one who is not a pledged abstainer, and many of them are Nazarites from the womb. The idea of temperance amongst us is that of total abstinence. There is no need whatever of laying down anything like foundation principles in the matter; those have long been laid, and are so recognised by the whole Church that the man that would attempt to establish them would be regarded as curiously idle. We rejoice exceedingly to find other sections of the Christian Church throughout the kingdom coming forward so strongly in this cause in these days; but the one thing we desiderate at present, is, a renewal of zeal and a more intense earnestness in working on its behalf.

Still I must say that a great deal is being done. Of late, in particular, very many sermons have been preached on temperance; the temperance speeches that are constantly delivered are exceedingly numerous; the cause is advocated in the Sunday schools and the Bands of Hope, and in the church meetings earnest efforts are made to establish the entire membership in the virtue of temperance, and to induce them to lend a helping hand to such of their neighbours as are being drawn into the great danger. On the political phase of the question we are very strong. Numberless are the petitions we have sent to Parliament for entire Sunday closing, for the Permissive Bill, and other measures which might tend to relieve the country from its great curse. A strong feeling prevails in favour of a movement for a Sunday Closing Bill for Wales alone. Unfortunately, Wales is connected in legislative matters with England, though in many respects, and especially in the matter of language, we stand more distinctly apart from it than either Scotland or Ireland; and seeing that both these countries have been relieved from Sunday trading in intoxicating drinks, it is felt to be very hard, when the feeling for Sunday closing is as strong here as anywhere, if not indeed stronger, that owing to the accident of our being connected with England we should be hampered with a trade against which we all protest, and from which we so earnestly desire to be relieved. Great efforts are also made in many of our neighbourhoods to oppose the granting of licences for public-houses. In some instances the magistrates considerably regard the protests of the inhabitants, and refuse a licence; but in many districts they pay no heed whatever to the wishes of the people, and grant the licences, all their protests notwithstanding. There are a few landlords that gain the deep respect of their countryman, and notably so of those who are weak to resist the drink temptation, by refusing to grant any land to build public-houses on their estates. And I believe that if the people themselves were allowed any voice in the matter, such as was provided for in the "Resolution" proposed a short while since in the House of Commons by Sir Wilfred Lawson, or even such as is recommended in the report just issued by the Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance, most of our neighbourhoods would make short work of their liberation. Until very recently, hardly anything was done by way of opening British Workman Public-houses, or Cocoa-rooms. Now, however, I find that they are springing up in many directions, and they are well patronised, and do much good.

DANIEL ROWLANDS.

## 2. SOUTH WALES.

I. Among the most characteristic resolutions on temperance our Church has passed, I would place those adopted last year at quarterly meetings held at Llansamlet and Brecon.

At the Association held at Llansamlet, the following report from the Temperance Committee was read and approved of; and further resolutions were made urging the carrying out of the propositions contained therein:—

“1. That we as an Association desire in the most earnest manner to impress upon all our officers, both preachers and deacons, the importance of being total abstinents from all intoxicating liquors.

“2. That we urge upon the monthly meetings (these are presbytery meetings) to be more careful in seeing that all new deacons that may be appointed, and the young men that are being trained for the work of the ministry, be total abstinents without question.

“3. That we desire to impress upon our educational institutions, and especially our colleges, the desirability of fostering the principles of temperance, and exerting all their influence in its behalf.

“4. That we urge upon our churches everywhere to see that the children be brought up as total abstinents, and that means to promote this end be provided for them.

“5. That we call the attention of the friends of temperance to the advisability of instituting coffee-houses and coffee-stalls, so that strangers on fair and market days be not compelled to frequent public-houses.”

At the Brecon Association, held 10th October, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

“That the Association urge upon all the members of the Connexion, together with the hearers, to use their influence on behalf of the election of such persons as Members of Parliament who will support all measures brought before the Legislature having for their object the limitation of the traffic in intoxicating liquors, as well on week days as on the Sabbath.” It was also resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to all the Members of Parliament representing constituencies in South Wales.

II. It was only last year a Temperance Committee of a permanent character was first formed, and its first report is that already quoted as having been received and adopted at Llansamlet. The members of this committee are to be elected annually, and to consist of one (either a minister or deacon) from each monthly meeting and presbytery (this latter is English). This committee is to meet every year at the spring Association, and to report to the same, and to any of the other Associations if thought desirable.

The methods usually recommended by the churches are—occasional sermons; temperance meetings, many of which are held on Sunday evening, either before or after the public service. Bands of Hope are held in a large number of chapels, but no statistics are gathered.

III. The Quarterly Association of South Wales has repeatedly petitioned Parliament to close all public-houses on the Lord's Day, and has urged the churches to petition to the same end. It is believed that this is done by the churches with considerable unanimity, but we have no returns. In March, 1875, the Association petitioned in favour of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill for the suppression of the traffic in strong drink.

On the other points specified, there is nothing special to report. Our Church, I believe, is prepared for strong action. A great number of our members are total abstinents, and in some churches the *vast majority* are.

The question of temperance has yet received but little attention at the General Assembly—the Assembly itself being only of very recent origin. At a meeting held at Swansea, June, 1876, it was resolved that the question of the prevailing intemperance should be submitted to the two quarterly Associations, and through

them to the various monthly meetings, and that they be desired to consider the possibility of employing some more effectual means, either of a denominational or undenominational character, than have hitherto been employed for the furtherance of the temperance cause.

At a meeting of Assembly, held in Liverpool, May, 1877, it was resolved to petition the House of Commons in favour of closing public-houses on Sunday.

Our Church, in all its highest interests, and notably in that of temperance, has sustained a great loss in the death of the Rev. Dr. Charles, Aberdovey, referred to in your Memorial-Tributes in March. He was educated at Oxford, purposing to take holy orders in the Church of England, where he would have attained his degree. But failing conscientiously to subscribe to the articles, he was obliged, after having graduated B.A., to relinquish that intention, and soon afterwards threw in his lot with the Calvinistic Methodists. His grandfather, Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, was often spoken of as God's gift to Wales, and he, the grandson, proved himself a precious gift to his country, especially to his adopted denomination. He at once gave himself to work. It was just then the total abstinence movement was first started in the country, and he threw himself into it with much vigour, lecturing up and down the country, inducing thousands in Wales to take the total abstinence pledge. He is said to have been the first in North Wales who came forth publicly on the question.

Of his services to the cause of theological education, and the advancement of the Gospel generally you have already spoken. Few men could have been more missed in our Church.

JOSEPH EVANS.

## DECAY OF PRESBYTERIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

[The following article is almost wholly of local application. We insert it in conformity with one of the designs of this Journal,—that the various Churches may be made aware of each other's experiences, whether for good or for evil. Even where this paper is not at present applicable, it may be useful as illustrating tendencies, especially in the case of Churches much exposed to the changeful spirit of the age. If any question arise out of this paper, whether of fact or of policy,—if the facts be challenged, or if the remedial policy here advocated be disputed, our pages are open to temperate statements on the other side, written in a brotherly spirit, with a catholic aim, and within moderate limits.—ED.]

THE design of this article is to direct attention to certain points of practical deflection from the form of government, adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. It is hoped that this may serve to arouse those concerned to remedy the evils that have sprung from these variations. Although the subject has a special reference to the body familiarly known as the Reunited Presbyterian Church in the Northern States, it may yet be assumed to be adapted, more or less accurately, to the condition of Presbyterianism in general in this country.

It is not asserted, nor implied, that there has been a widespread or vital repudiation of the main principles of Presbyterian administration. To show the real nature of the change, we will present an orderly state-

ment of undisputed deviations among us from the letter of the Book of Government,\* and attempt to trace sundry pressing evils in the Church to their legitimate root, in the deviations thus noted. The articles of government from which deflection will be noted, are all contained in Book First of the "Form of Government of the Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.," and the relative position of these deflections will be marked by reference to the several chapters of that book.

In the first chapter, in which the "preliminary principles" of government are announced, it is affirmed in the last article, that "if the preceding scriptural and rational principles be steadfastly adhered to, the rigour and strictness of its discipline will contribute to the glory and happiness of any Church." A warning is here conveyed by inference, that want of rigour or laxity of discipline arising from neglect of steadfast adherence to such scriptural and rational principles, will detract from the glory and happiness of any Church. Inattention to this prophetic caution will be seen to have become the source of various serious evils that prevail in our Church at the present time.

We begin our examination of the variations with the sixth chapter, that relates to "deacons." The chapter reads as follows:—"The Scriptures clearly point out deacons as distinct officers in the Church, whose business it is to take care of the poor, and to distribute among them the collections which may be made for their use. To them also may be properly committed the management of the temporal affairs of the Church." Now the office of deacon has fallen into well-nigh complete desuetude among us, or lingers only in an indefinite and inefficient exercise for the lifting of collections and for the dispensing of scant charities. Particularly is the latter clause grown obsolete. "The management of the temporal affairs of the Church" is now, as a rule, committed to trustees, officers of the congregation, for whose existence no provision is made, and who are recognised only incidentally in the Book of Government (chap. xv. 7). These officers who now have charge of making provision for ministerial support, and to whom all temporal control, even of the church building, is committed, are selected from popular and influential men in the congregation. They are not necessarily church members, nor usually are they *all* communicants. This departure from the recommendation of the book confers upon the congregation, rather than upon the actual membership, predominating power in the choice or retention of a minister, and renders the minister answerable, not so much to the Christian conscience seeking the truth, as to the popular

\* [When the American Presbyterian Church was organised in 1788 as a General Assembly, it issued, for the instruction of its members, a little manual called "The Form of Government," in which the doctrine of the Church as to its officers, courts, and a few other subjects, was briefly set forth. This is now regarded as the constitution of the Church. To this document there was prefixed, in 1821, a few statements of a general character, respecting the design of the Church itself. It is to this book that the writer of this article refers.—Ed.]



taste demanding spiritual entertainment. It is a vital point in which the world has invaded the Church, and vigorously wields the power of the purse against the spiritual control of the pulpit. Moreover, these officers of the congregation are entirely irresponsible to Presbytery, and have no connection with it. They form an independent power, zealous oftentimes of control. And this is one of the wedges, which, in connection with others tending in the same direction, has led to the enfeebling of Presbyterian authority over the churches.

In the seventh chapter, pertaining to "ordinances in a particular church," the ordinance of "*catechising*," is distinctly named. But catechising no longer exists as an ordinance in our churches. Excepting rarely in private families, or it may be by the asking of one or two questions each Sabbath in the Sabbath school, and this not under the direction of church officers, the old-fashioned Shorter Catechism is unused. Owing to constant local church emigration and immigration, our church membership has become ever-shifting, while its body consists of a large mixture of members of other denominations with our own people, persons drawn to us by local convenience or popular preference. This mixed multitude, with its varied tastes, and lack of early training, has served to render the catechising ordinance unpopular in many places. As a result, churches have become liberalised in doctrine, through neglect of catechetical instruction in the system of truth we hold. Not becoming Presbyterianised in views of truth, they naturally do not sympathise with our mode of government, and can hardly be expected willingly to submit to the rule of that which they have not learned to love as a system. Thus the idea of submission to church authority, so sacred to the Fathers, has become seriously weakened, while the practical control has been transferred from Church to congregation. To what extent a change in the style of preaching from the doctrinal and exegetical may have also aided this relaxation of Church principles, it does not fall within our scope to discuss. But it may be assumed that those who, from whatever cause, are untrained in the doctrines of a Church, will be correspondingly indifferent in maintaining its discipline.

Again, from the above-named influences, and from a spirit of increasing independence, springing from other causes, the exercise of *discipline* on erratic or unfaithful members has been rendered unpopular, and in some instances well-nigh impossible. This duty is assigned to the session in chapter ninth, but has fallen into perilous decline. Worldly habits and customs, deadly in their effect upon spirituality and upon the faithfulness of ministerial utterance, have thus by tolerance enthroned themselves in the house of God. By connivance of the spiritual power, or by its weakness of protest, a spirit of compromise with the world prevails in many quarters. Owing to causes already mentioned, the courage of the pulpit is likely to fail in the presence of preponderating congregational power. Thus the average tone of piety falls, while activity in external church enterprise is swift to assume the sphere of spiritual

energy and of the strict maintenance of pure Christian living. With the lack of discipline naturally comes the loss of respect for authority, and a continually increasing unwillingness to submit to any other guidance than that of men's own self-indulgent wills.

From these minor lapses of government that aid in preparing the way for shrinkage of ecclesiastical bonds, we now pass to still more serious infringements of the constitution of the Church, through foreign methods of action introduced into our Presbyteries. Owing to the poverty of many candidates for the ministry, to their late entrance upon the work of preparation, and consequent haste on their part to enter upon their labours, and owing likewise to the vast needs calling for young blood in our extensive western home missionary fields, certain habits of indulgence in reference to the enforcement of the requirements of educational preparation in candidates have invaded a number of our Presbyteries. For the same reasons in part, ordinations *sine titulo* have multiplied. Thus the educated character and spiritual force of the ministry have been appreciably lowered, where these concessions have been yielded. That a corresponding loss of authority in the ministry must result from this indulgence needs no argument to prove.

We may further note a serious practical change in the composition of Presbytery, due to the gradual lessening of the number of ruling elders that attend its sessions. Upon this subject it is impossible, without great difficulty, to obtain reliable statistics, or to make an exact estimate. But from wide observation and careful conference with ministers in various quarters, it may be confidently stated, as entirely within bounds, that, over the whole Church, not more than one quarter of the churches are thus represented in the stated meetings of Presbytery. Whether this absence of representation springs from that spirit of independence of control already mentioned, or whether the latter is due in good measure to the former, is a problem that deserves careful examination. However, in either case, a decline of interest on the part of churches in the proceedings of Presbytery, and their growing separation in spirit from Presbytery, with ignorance of its rights and indifference to its supervision, would seem to be the inevitable consequences. Thus the pressure of ecclesiastical control over the masses of the people is gradually lessened year by year, and their attachment to church order wanes proportionately to their removal from its courts and consequent unconsciousness of its plans and modes of operation. To what extent this slackening of interest in the proceedings of Presbytery on the part of the ruling eldership, with its attendant loss of ecclesiastical power, may be connected with the spread of term-service in the eldership, recently incorporated into the constitution of the Church, will bear rigid consideration. Certainly a less amount of zeal for Presbytery may be naturally expected of one who may be chosen a delegate but once or twice during his brief term of office, and who possesses no assurance of a prolongation of his office by re-election.

What opportunity is afforded him to become sufficiently familiarised with the workings of Presbytery to secure from him any active part, and hence any deep personal interest, in its proceedings? Hence the eldership, like the diaconate, may gradually decline from its position of authority and influence in the congregations. When a session shall once lose the impression of the authority of Presbytery behind it, its work will gravitate into a formal and mechanical routine of functional details.

We next pass to the consideration of another instance of evident and dangerous subversion of Presbyterial power. The published "Minutes of the General Assembly" for the last year, show the existence in the Church of actually 368 fewer ministers than churches. An accurate account in the minutes of 1875 proves that fully one-fourth of our ministry is retired, or engaged in other avocations, and not employed at all in the supply of churches. The deficit of ministers thus arising may be partially balanced by the fact that, in many instances, a minister is employed in the service of two, or of even three, small charges. Yet, for all that, the supply of efficient ministers is limited and evidently inadequate especially to the wants of our home-mission fields. There is no cry more senseless than that of a surplus ministry. Add to the above consideration, the rapid growth of many towns or neighbourhoods and of their churches. Consider the intense rivalry of other denominations upon the same fields. Take into account the wide diffusion of knowledge through the press, and the intellectual impulse of the sudden development of communities, creating a demand for the best pulpit talent. Include the insufficient salaries oftentimes offered, and the possibility of advancing one's ministerial position, with enlargement of spiritual influence. Reflect upon the constant opportunities of promotion to larger churches through the incessant transfer of the ministry. Consider all this, and we may readily predict a ceaseless tendency to change in both churches and ministers.

That such a movement exists to an alarming extent is a fact, undeniable as it is lamentable. Now it will scarcely be denied that our form of government directly contemplates the retention of the control of all such transfers within the judgment and action of Presbytery. The very theory of Presbyterial government involves, as its first principle, the power to regulate the relation of the ministry to the churches, in individual cases.

Now consider, first, the case of the removal of a minister from one charge to another. Chapter sixteenth of our book distinctly provides for this case. We quote only the parts of the chapter essential to our purpose, as follows:—

"I. No bishop shall be translated from one church to another, nor shall he receive any call for that purpose, but by the permission of the Presbytery.

"II. Any church desiring to call a settled minister from his present charge, shall, by commissioners, properly authorised, represent to the Presbytery the ground on which they plead his removal. The Presbytery having maturely considered their plea, may, according as it appears more or less reasonable, either

recommend to them to desist from prosecuting the call, or may order it to be delivered to the minister to whom it is directed. If the parties be not prepared to have the matter issued at that Presbytery, a written citation shall be given to the minister and his congregation to appear before the Presbytery at its next meeting. . . . The Presbytery being met and having heard the parties, shall, upon the whole view of the case, either continue him in his former charge, or translate him, as they shall deem to be most for the peace and edification of the Church; or refer the whole affair to the Synod at their next meeting, for their advice and direction."

This legislation refers to a change of pastorate *within the bounds of one Presbytery*; and it involves "hearing the parties," a "whole view of the case," "maturely considering," and the rendering of a decision as a court of Christ, while having in view a deliberate judgment as to what will best secure the peace and edification of the Church at large. This is the law of the Church; but as to the practice, the reference of such a case to Synod, as contemplated in the last sentence, is so rare, that the writer cannot recall from the history of the Church the existence of a single instance. Further, while it is also true that no such changes as herein described are consummated without the formal consent of Presbytery, yet it has grown to be the prevailing custom in most parts of the Church, excepting only some of the oldest Presbyteries, for all such transfers to be quietly arranged between the minister and the churches concerned. Frequently, indeed, his actual charge is not fairly consulted, but only informed, after a plan of union between the minister and another church has been agreed upon. Often the minister hands in his resignation to his people; a congregational meeting being called, his resignation is accepted; resolutions of respect and regret are adopted; and commissioners are appointed to Presbytery, and instructed to unite with the pastor in the request for the dissolution of the pastoral relation. Meanwhile the minister may have removed to his new charge before Presbytery meets; and it has occurred that the church he is to leave presents a call to a new pastor at the same Presbytery that is requested to dissolve the old relation. When Presbytery convenes, it goes through the motion of acting, but merely passes a cut-and-dried decision, confirming that which it seems powerless to contradict,—the practical control of the matter having been wrested from its hands. In such cases Presbytery becomes only a court of record. It is the rarest of events for Presbyterial interference to be made in such removals; and, indeed, it would not ordinarily be wise to attempt reversal, since growing custom has surrendered the affair to church and pastor, excepting the function of formal endorsement. There are a few Presbyteries in which the old authority and method are insisted upon; and in cases where the minister rests in serious doubt as to duty, the question is sometimes submitted to Presbytery; while, now and then, a minister is sent back to a church after an attempt to leave. But ordinarily Presbytery looks on while minister and church settle their own affairs, and then steps in to pronounce the blessing. What power over the

spiritual welfare of a church this custom places in the hands of a congregation that is governed in temporal matters by its trustees, need not be declared.

Section third of this same chapter provides for the calling of a minister settled within the limits of another Presbytery as follows:—"That congregation shall obtain leave from the Presbytery to which they belong, to apply to the Presbytery of which he is a member, and that Presbytery having cited him and his congregation as before directed, shall proceed to hear and issue the case. If they agree to the translation, they shall release him from his present charge; and, having given him proper testimonials, shall require him to repair to that Presbytery within the bounds of which the congregation calling him lies," &c.

This enacted mode of transfer is sometimes respected, but ordinarily the minister called, if he decides in his own mind to accept, merely requests his Presbytery on his own motion to release him from his charge, provision having been made for announcing, at the same time, the concurrence of his congregation, and to dismiss him to the Presbytery to which the calling church belongs; upon his reception by which Presbytery the call is put into his hands, and the new relation is formally constituted. This short method saves time and trouble; and it also relieves Presbytery from its judicial office of deliberating and deciding in such transfers as the good of the whole field may require. The congregations and the ministers transact the business, and few Presbyteries will venture to interfere, or to utter a protest, but graciously vote endorsement, and enter it upon the minutes. The inference as to where the real power resides is the same as in the previous case.

Chapter seventeenth provides that when a minister, not having a call to another church, "shall labour under such grievances in his congregation as that he shall desire leave to resign his pastoral charge, the Presbytery shall cite the congregation to appear by their commissioners at their next meeting to show cause, if they have any, why the Presbytery should not accept the resignation." "And if any congregation shall desire to be released from their pastor, a similar process, *mutatis mutandis*, shall be observed." And the Presbytery is to deliberate and decide. Custom, however, permits the congregation, and not the Presbytery, to accept the ministerial resignation, and afterwards to ask Presbytery to go through the form of release. In case, however, of inability on the part of pastor and people to agree in action, the affair is then referred to the next Presbytery, the commissioners coming up, of their own accord, to have the difficulty settled at once.

Now this improved method may, or may not, be wiser than that one ordered in the book. It is true that our book implies that much freedom is to be left to the several desires of church and minister. But actually many instances of serious injury occur. Separations are effected that in the judgment of Presbytery seem unnecessary and unwise. Trifling differences, growing often out of questions of salary, or of the undue



prominence of some individual in the congregation, or of technical administration, which belong to Presbytery to settle, produce alienation and separation. That firm and safe adjudication of a higher court of appeal, so much needed for the defence of both parties, is practically abandoned. Presbytery stands helpless where she should direct and guide; her interference, if proposed, comes after the event, since her calm adjudication has not been sought in time. Too frequently she can only render a coroner's verdict. Ministers are rarely returned to a charge after the mutual and hasty motion of separation has been made. And as a result, parties are formed, congregations are torn with internal strife, and seriously injured for years, by dissensions that might have been healed had old-time Presbyterial authority been regarded. This looseness of Presbyterial control having crept in, both ministers and churches are swift to take advantage of it; a feeling of independence is widely inculcated; and an incipient Congregationalism usurps the management, leaving in such matters only the nominal Presbyterial power of "ratification."

Out of this state of affairs still greater evils have developed, concerning two of which we must speak. *First*, the pastoral office itself has lost dignity and standing. In its stead has arisen a relation nowhere recognised or contemplated in our form of government; an office, indeed, of pure Congregationalism, and alien to original Presbyterianism. Churches and ministers have fallen into the way of constructing their own temporary connexions, regardless of the permanent pastorate, referring the matter indeed to Presbytery by asking leave, to which Presbytery too readily yields undemurring concurrence. This new relation is marked upon our Assembly minutes as that of "stated supply." It is a stipulation between a minister and a church or churches for his services during a stated period, usually a year, or year by year. When the engagement expires the relation ends, unless the contract be renewed. It will be profitable to examine the exact figures illustrating this system. These figures are presented from personal inspection of the "Minutes of Assembly" for the past year. The entire number of churches reported in 1878 is 5269. Of these 963 are marked "vacant"—that is, having no ministerial supply whatever, many of them being small, others undergoing a transition of ministers. Subtracting these vacant churches from the whole number, we have left us 4306 churches that employ ministers. Now of this latter number, 2058 are marked "stated supply"—that is, having ministers who are uncalled to the pastorate, and ministering to them temporarily, under contract. Thus only the remaining 2248 churches have settled pastors, leaving 3021 churches without pastors, they either being vacant or having stated supplies. Further, of these 2248 churches with pastors, it frequently occurs that two churches are united under one pastor, leaving, at the lowest estimate, not more than 2000 of our 4901 ministers reported as holding the pastoral relation. Thus the uninstalled ministers equal in number the

pastorless churches,—in either case the proportion being nearly three-fifths of the whole number.

This system of stated supply is not merely the refuge of feeble churches on our western missionary borders. It prevails to a wide extent over all the Church, more, however, in the smaller churches as compared with the larger. In our 178 Presbyteries only two are absolutely without stated supplies, these being Brooklyn and New Brunswick; while the number is smallest in the Synods of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York City, where the Scotch-Irish element most largely prevails. It is evident that Presbytery can exercise but slight and indifferent direction in such a condition of affairs, over either churches or ministry as to the pastoral relation, which is the organic connection between preachers and people. Under stated supply pre-eminence, church and minister manage matters to their own convenience, and Presbytery confines itself to more agreeable functions.

This grievous lapse from constitutional principles, with its entailed consequences (which we sincerely believe are not overstated), has been pictured for the purpose of fixing attention upon the absolute necessity of devising and applying some effective remedy. Whether the present decline of Presbyterial power has been forced upon us by the perplexing social conditions of the country; whether it is now possible to regain what has been lost, and to get back to former authority; whether, if possible, this reaction be desirable; whether ancient Presbyterianism is adapted to American ideas of popular liberty; or whether certain changes in our form of government are necessary to fit our system to the progressive spirit of the times and to present customs, are questions that crowd upon us, and that will ere long demand an answer at the peril of our constitutional life.

But has Presbytery no authority under our form of government to put an end to these public evils that deeply injure us in our spiritual life and in the eyes of the observing world? Is there nowhere in our system power to secure pastors for churches, and to insist on their permanency except for reasons of pressing necessity? If Presbyterial government be truly scriptural, it should be observed and enforced. If it cannot be enforced, then it is probably not scriptural, and should be replaced by some other form that is capable of exerting enough control to prevent confusion in the churches, and to carry the Gospel to every community. Any government silently abandoning its authority is on the path to revolution. This loss of authority is evidently due to want of ecclesiastical supervision; and our Presbyterianism, while exercising its authority sufficiently in other respects, is like to merge into a nominal control of our churches that will land us in the bog of an irresponsible Congregationalism. And when our churches shall have grown still more independent and saucy, Presbytery may take care of itself as a convention existing to license and ordain young ministers, and to pass ineffectual resolutions. It would seem that the time and talent

of the General Assembly might be expended to better purpose in considering these vital wants and insidious dangers than in discussing impracticable schemes of representation and general questions of needless or inefficient legislation, pertaining to the branches and the leaves, but not touching the decay that is working at the root of the tree. If it be true, as it has been strongly stated, that the Church is absolutely going to pieces for want of exercise of its constitutional authority, it is high time that Presbytery be summoned to arise, gird on her strength, and courageously wield her lawful and sufficient energies for the remedy of those invading evils that, from their very nature, magnify the peril as they increase the lawlessness of our churches.

A. A. E. TAYLOR.

### THE LAW OF SCOTLAND ON CAMERONIANISM AND CHARITABLE BEQUESTS.

THE Presbyterian world, throughout all its provinces, is interested in Cameronianism, as a feature in Church history and in the history of Scotland. That peculiar type of our system is represented in Ireland as largely as in the mother country, and in America a great deal more so. The law, too, of charitable bequests, varying in different countries, is becoming in all of enormous importance to the Churches. In the United States in particular, the communications with which from year to year I am honoured from lawyers and churchmen there, show that questions of the interests of Churches in bequeathed endowments excite the most intelligent discussion. All this makes me willingly comply with the request to give some account of the late Ferguson Bequest problem in Scotland and its judicial solution. It is true that I was of counsel in the cause, and the uninitiated may suppose that a lawyer's intimacy with the question he pleads is unfavourable to subsequent impartiality. People who know the Courts will scarcely hold this even in the general case; and if interest in such questions is a disqualification, I am afraid that mine was sufficiently keen before I had to do with this one forensically.

What is known as the Ferguson Bequest in Scotland originated in a sum of about £300,000 which was left by John Ferguson, of Cairnbrock, in Ayrshire, at his death in 1856. Ferguson was an old bachelor, not remarkable for religious or ecclesiastical leanings; but in his will, after giving large sums of money to such relatives as he had in America as well as here, he left this amount to be held by trustees for religious or charitable purposes in Scotland. These are defined as follows:—The yearly funds were to be applied to “the maintenance and promotion of religious ordinances, and education and missionary operations, in the first instance in Ayr” and the five adjacent counties, “and

thereafter, if my trustees shall think fit, in any other counties in Scotland; and that by means of payments for the erection or support of churches and schools (other than and excepting parish churches and parish schools) belonging to or in connection with *quoad sacra* churches belonging to the Established Church of Scotland, and belonging to or in connection with the Free Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and the Congregational or Independent Church, all in Scotland, or any or either of them," or in supplement of the stipends or salaries of the ministers of the said *quoad sacra* and other four Churches, and also by payments to religious missionaries, teachers of schools, and congregational libraries in connection with "the said five Churches." In order to work this, he created a board of trustees, of whom three members were always to be from the Established Church, four from the Free Church, four from the United Presbyterian, one from the Reformed Presbyterian, and one from the Congregational Church. There was a declaration that the proportions to be applied to the respective objects of the Trust should be entirely at the option and discretion of the trustees. In 1869, the Trust was incorporated by an Act of Parliament, which embodies the purposes of the testator.

From this general description it results that the Ferguson Trust is in one point of view of considerable interest, as being both catholic and denominational. It is catholic, in so far as it includes four Presbyterian Churches in Scotland and one group which is not even Presbyterian. But it is denominational or ecclesiastical, in so far as its benefits are in all time coming destined for, and limited to or at least defined by, those specified Churches, while its administrators are also to be chosen from them in perpetuity. And it is this denominational aspect of it which has recently raised a difficulty. The legal course was clear, so long as there were five, and only five, bodies to be favoured. But what if one of them splits in two? Or what if, on the other hand, two of them join into one? It is this question which has been experimented upon *in corpore parvo*—i.e., with regard to that one of the five Churches which is numerically the least, while historically of very high interest. The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland is that small body which has been called, not by itself but by others—called popularly and perhaps inaccurately—the Cameronian Church. In Ferguson's scheme, as we have seen, it was to have one trustee; and as the Board early resolved that they should proportion their distribution of funds to the number of trustees allotted to each Church by the testator, it came to have somewhat less than £1000 paid to it year by year. The money was of some importance to a body which had lived in honourable poverty for two hundred years. But the questions raised in order to the right settlement of the money question were of more importance still. Fortunately, too, these had relation both to division and to union.

In the year 1863, not long after the Ferguson Fund began to be divided annually, a section, variously estimated by the parties at from

more than a sixth to less than a tenth, of the Reformed Presbyterian body, broke off from the majority, declaring that they, the minority, and the congregations adhering to them, truly constituted that Church, the others having departed from their fundamental principles. The departure, as we shall see, had reference to the question of allegiance to the British Crown. But the minority took up their exclusive position promptly, and intimated this to the Ferguson Trustees among others. Consequently, when their congregations applied for a continuance of the grant formerly made to each of them, the Trust, rashly perhaps, took the minority at their word, and intimated that as there were two bodies claiming to be the Reformed Presbyterian Church, they preferred the majority; or at least that they must assume the majority to be in the right until the minority had proved their case at law. The minority would willingly have done so, but their Synod was apparently advised against it, and thirteen years passed away, when a new state of matters arose. The majority, which was then the Church best known in Scotland as the Reformed Presbyterian Church, after years of negotiation with its larger neighbour, the Free Church, united with it in 1876 by a nearly unanimous vote—only one or two ministers and congregations out of forty holding back. The uniting bodies carried through their union with great enthusiasm; but it cannot be held strange that the separating Church of 1863 thought its time had now come. The other, or larger body, in joining the Free Church, retained its Synod *quoad civilia*, after the example of the Churches which united in the north of Ireland; but this, though a very suitable and valuable arrangement for holding such property as a Church is entitled to retain, could scarcely be a bar against any real plea that in law it was not entitled to retain it. It also stipulated that it should keep its name and traditions; but as it consented to be slumped for popular and ecclesiastical purposes under the name of the Free Church of Scotland (also in itself a very proper thing, the latter body being twenty times as large, and the name being exceedingly congruous to the Cameronian idea of the Kirk), the argument was very natural, at least to lawyers, that it had lost its identity. Accordingly, rather to the satisfaction of some legal students of those matters, an action was brought, in October, 1877, by the minority of 1863, to have it declared that *it* was now the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and was exclusively entitled to the Ferguson Bequest monies—and that on two grounds. The first was, that it had become so when the majority left their principles in 1863. The second was, that at all events it had become so when they left their principles in 1876.

Of course, this throws us back upon the history of Cameronianism. And looking to that history, I must say that I think both pursuers and defenders in the late litigation had a good deal to say for themselves. On some things both parties were at one; and as the judgment of the Court has been that they ought to be treated as one, I am disposed to lay stress upon these main roots before they branch apart. Thus, the



whole Reformed Presbyterians, inside the Free Church of Scotland and out of it, go back to the Reformation, and hold it to be their first great era; and then to the "Second Reformation," and hold it to be their second great era. They all hold that the obligation of the Covenants, at least in their main objects and principles, descends and remains upon the present generation of the nation and the Church. They all hold that it is being free rather than being established that constitutes the historical identity of the Church of Scotland, and that, therefore, when their forefathers refused to join the Revolution Settlement in 1690, they were not less, but more, members of the true Church of Scotland, because they remained outside. They all join in protesting against the conditions of Scottish Establishment, not merely (as the Free Church does) as these are alleged to have been defined and settled at 1843, but also as they were set up and enforced in 1690. They all maintain a high doctrine of the Church and of the State of ecclesiastical rule and of magistracy; and the protest which they utter against defections, both in the one and the other, is derived from the high ideal which they cherish and confess. But that high ideal does lead to a protest—a protest against the defection of both Church and nation from their old and covenanted attainments.

And here we come upon the point of difference. Agreeing upon so much, they differed, and in 1863 they split, upon the application (if not upon the principle) of this protest. The great majority, the Cameronians who are now united with the Free Church, make the special principle of their Church to be, a refusal to "homologate" or approve the evils of the British constitution at and since 1690 (especially the alleged evil of the royal supremacy); or otherwise, a refusal to homologate or approve that constitution itself, *because* of the evils included in it, or, *in so far* as evils are included in it. Acute readers will observe that the words I have italicised introduce a certain ambiguity; and accordingly it is at this point that the question was raised, How are you to avoid becoming personally or morally responsible for a civil constitution, against the evil of which you protest (or against which you protest as being partly evil)? Or, conversely, how does a man incur moral responsibility for the State? The answer of the minority in 1863 was that a man does so by taking the oath of allegiance to the crown, as upon becoming a member of Parliament; and of course equally, though indirectly, by inducing another to profess allegiance, as by voting for a member of Parliament. The majority in 1863 were disposed to the contrary view—that a man by taking the oath of allegiance to the British crown, and entering Parliament, does *not* become personally or morally responsible for the evils in the constitution (or for the constitution in so far as he holds it to include evil), but that, on the contrary, he takes the best way to relieve himself and others of those evils by getting them altered. It is true that the majority in 1863 did not commit themselves to this last view. All they did was to make the matter

an open question in their Church, so far as not to enforce discipline on those who had acted upon this view by entering Parliament, or voting for a member. They said, "The question is doubtful, and on a doubtful question we have no warrant to exercise discipline." And of course this caution was an advantage to them ecclesiastically as well as forensically. Still, I think I am justified in saying that the opinion of the lawfulness and even propriety of Reformed Presbyterians taking the oath of allegiance while keeping their protest against the constitution in so far as evil, was in 1836 becoming, as it has since become, prevalent in the body. And the minority broke off in 1863, because in deference to this prevailing feeling the majority in that year made the matter an open question.

I am well aware that the mass of Presbyterians throughout the world look upon the more rigid Cameronian view on this matter as a slightly lunatic one. Undoubtedly the general opinion of lawyers and others as to the question of fact, whether the British oath of allegiance implies personal responsibility—whether it implies, for example, a "reduplication" upon the coronation oath of the sovereign, and so an indirect engagement by a Scotchman professing allegiance to maintain Episcopacy in England,—the general opinion of lawyers and others is dead against any such implication. In a three days' discussion before four Scotch judges, such a doctrine of personal responsibility in the present day was treated as absurd from the Bar, without a syllable of dissent by the Bench. All the more I am desirous of here maintaining (as I took the responsibility of doing, almost contrary to my clients' interests, before the Supreme Court of Scotland) that while this may be clear now, it was not so always. The minority of 1863 had this great fact upon their side, that unquestionably the forefathers of the body held the view of full moral solidarity—held, that the individual who voluntarily became a citizen was responsible for the existing evil in the constitution of the State. They held this, and put it into a succession of "Testimonies" after the Revolution of 1688. And I am not prepared to say that they were then clearly wrong. The state of the law of sedition and the law of libel both in Scotland and England down to a very recent time forbid this; and it was quite a legitimate thing to say to the Scottish Bench in 1879 that "their lordships' predecessors hanged men eighty years ago for acting in what both political parties now hold to be proper and constitutional ways of demanding changes in the constitution." Even since that time great changes have taken place, the most important legislative fact of the century being, no doubt, the Test Act, which brought along with it what are known as the Catholic and Jewish Emancipation Acts. But the whole thing has been a gradual change, a change not in the principles of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, but in the facts outside of it. At the present day it is open to any Reformed Presbyterian to carry out his extreme point by demanding the "extirpation" of Prelacy in England, and doing so by every method of public and organised agitation. If he had attempted to do so formerly, even after 1688, he might

have suffered the fate of those tried by Lord Ellenborough and Lord Braxfield. Keeping these things in mind, it is not hard to understand the objections of the Cameronians who remained outside the Revolution Settlement to taking the oath of allegiance, lest thereby they should be held to approve, or to connive at, the evils which the Union soon after brought closer still. And remembering that these were men who ever laid the heavy part of the burden upon themselves, and that to the strain and scrupulosity of their consciences we owe our present enlarged liberties, and our scope for Epicurean ease, I for one can never consent to join, even with regard to this their alleged *pactum illicitum*, in either ridicule or blame.

But it plainly raised an interesting legal question. It was admitted that the body, down to their latest testimony in 1837-39, held and proclaimed that the British oath of allegiance implied complicity in the evils of the British constitution, and accordingly, that Christian men could not honestly or consistently take it. Is that not enough to tie up a Church? The answer was, that no doubt it was in their latest Testimony (as in previous ones); but that, nevertheless, it was a mistake in fact, which they had now ascertained to be a mistake; and that a Church is entitled, and indeed bound, to apply its old principles to every new or newly ascertained state of fact. And this historical question came to be the first and most interesting part of the case. The discussion had not proceeded for a quarter of an hour, when the Lord President (Inglis) said—"What is all this proof about? I have seen cases of this sort for thirty years, and have never known one in which more was done than to put down on the table of the Court the latest document of the Church concerned, and to say, that is our constitution." The reference to previous cases was quite correct, and it accounts for much of the wooden way in which Presbyterians are disposed to think that the Courts of Scotland have hitherto dealt with their Church matters. In the present case, for the first time, our Courts have been obliged to admit an historical proof that the principles of a Church were in one point other than they are stated in the latest authoritative document bearing to be a full exposition of its principles. The finality of the Testimony of 1837-39 was the first question in this case; and once the too long nursed impatience of the Court was overcome, there was no difficulty in showing from the proof that a Church which avowed the general right to revise even its Confession of Faith (and which lays great stress on its having actually and under certain stipulations abandoned one Confession for another), was still freer as to a Testimony, which they define as an application from time to time, according to changing circumstances, of the general truths or doctrines contained in the Confession. Then, of course, this led into the question how far that definition was sustained in the history of the four Testimonies, beginning with that noble old document, the Informatory Vindication of 1687. It was argued, rightly or wrongly, that as each of these from time

to time superseded the other, they made constant changes in this very matter of the Church relation to the State—paying taxes, serving on juries, and swearing judicial oaths, which were all forbidden at one time, having been from time to time conceded (this last prohibition vanishing about the time when Davie Deans, in Scott's immortal novel, is supposed to have been so cruelly exercised under it). And the 1863 modification of the last Testimony was thus presented as merely the latest term in a series. The other side of the case, which maintained that the repudiation of the British oath of allegiance was fundamental to the Church, was also ably maintained; and, indeed, this whole first question, that of 1863, was thoroughly thrashed out.

But the other or later part of the case, that in regard to the union of the Churches in 1876, was not touched—at least not on the side of the majority who defended it; and this may probably be the key to any peculiarity which future students of this branch of law may find in the present decision. The unionists had prepared a full proof from the documents and history of the Church to show that union and reunion was one of its fundamental obligations, and that *this* union was of the kind so contemplated; but the Court, after hearing the pursuers on both points, decided that they had enough to settle the case upon its first branch, and formally requested the defenders not to take up this second matter. The consequence was, that while the Bench had their attention pretty fully directed to what may be called the disintegrant elements—the facts of change and disunion—which are to be found in the history of this as of all Churches, they shut out from their own view the counter considerations of nationalism and obligation to unite, which are also very strongly there.

The judgment (delivered on 7th January, 1879) recommended the trustees to give both parties their share of the money. But the grounds on which it did so are new in Scotch law. Its leading ground probably belongs rather to the law of charitable trusts than to that of Churches. The Court pointed out that a bequest of this sort to, or rather among, five Churches, allied in doctrine, but differing in details of government, implied that the testator was not thinking of the points in which they differed, but of those they held in common. Consequently, "a change in the outward form and composition of any of these Churches through a separation of one of them into two or more parties, or in consequence of a union of two or more of them," is no emergency at all as regards the administration of his bequest. "It was by him intended to advance the vital interests of religion without regard to sectarian zeal or profitless controversy." This rather new but quite reasonable principle in our law is fortified in the present case by the very large discretion which is granted to the trustees. But it is a principle which may become of great importance, and which must find other applications in the future of endowments. The Lord President, indeed, from whose remarks we have quoted, was careful to say that there were other cases—questions

of contested property, for example, and of bequests "directly to a body"—which may have to be determined by ascertaining which body adheres to the tenets. But "the Court will only institute an inquiry into the doctrines and rules of particular religious societies, when such a course is absolutely necessary as a means of deciding some question of civil right." And therefore, apparently, future questions of endowments, where particular Churches or societies are named, may have an easier solution if it can be shown that the intention of the testator was not to regard minor differences of external form and name, or of internal faith and practice. The question of separation,—in this case that of 1863,—was the only one formally decided by the Court. But the judges reached forward to the other question, the union of 1876. "What happened in 1876," the Lord President said, "was simply an occurrence belonging to the same general class as the separation of 1863. Neither of them, in my opinion, disturbs the scheme of the testator." Take the case, added Lord Shand, "that the Free Church, the United Presbyterian Church, and the Congregational Church, finding that they have substantially the same rule of faith, and the same simple form of religious worship, should unite, is it to be the result that one or all become disqualified to carry out the objects of the testator? So far from becoming disqualified, the union provides a stronger reason for making them agents for the distribution of the fund. There is nothing fundamentally altered in the views that are held in common by all the bodies."

The scheme of union thus thrown out is, in some features, rather adventurous, but that merely indicates, what we now go on to repeat, that the Court in this case took very partial assistance from the principles of presbytery which were in some of the documents on their table. Reverting to the question already stated of the power of the Reformed Presbyterian Church to change its former belief and practice on the subject of the oath of allegiance, one judge, Lord Mure, gave it as his opinion that such a power had been fully proved. But the leading opinion was delivered by the Lord President, who gave three reasons which, "in combination," made it unnecessary to inquire into such church questions. Two of these, the generality of the trust and the discretion given to the trustees, we have already noticed. But the third was, that the Reformed Presbyterian Church was not bound together by a contract or bond of union of a definite and ascertained kind—at least, as he went on to prove by an interesting survey of its history, it had not *always* been so connected. No doubt it has for more than a century been under a presbytery and more than half-a-century under a synod, and it was at all times very far from undervaluing church government: but all this did not suffice to give it in the view of the head of our Court the definite position which the same Court in previous cases ascribed to dissenting Churches in Scotland. Accordingly, the judgment treats this Church as rather a molluscous or polyp-like body, which (especially for the purposes of a will like Ferguson's) may



suffer division and reunion without much harm. I speak of this judgment not only (and of course) with deference, but with admiration. I regard it as showing more historical power and insight than any of those on the same general subject which have preceded it in Scotland, and I think that it may become the foundation of a large and in many respects new structure of law. But it is just because I have this high view of it that I venture to suggest that in one or two points it needs fortification by facts which, though some of them were in the case, were not brought before the Bench. Thus, the assertion that any one Testimony of the Reformed Presbyterian Church is its "contract" was fully disproved by the facts analysed to the Court. So far it might seem to be left in a molluscous state. But the other facts, upon the subject of union and the identification of the Reformed Presbyterian Church with the Church of Scotland and its history in past and future, were what the Court found it unnecessary to hear, though in evidence; and these would have shown a by no means molluscous constitution. Again, the contrast suggested in one part of the speech between seceding Churches, whose statement of their grounds of secession forms by itself a sufficient contract, and Churches like the Cameronian which never seceded, but represent the old Church, seems to me to be a distinction suggested not so much by our history, or by the principles of the bodies put in evidence, as by previous cases which the Scotch Courts decided in some instances without any evidence whatever.\* The Cameronians always held themselves to be seceders; and almost all the other bodies now separate from the Scottish Establishment hold themselves to represent the old Kirk, and to have no document of contract. With regard to one of them, this also was proved in the present case (in the part, however, of the proof which was not taken up in the Court of Appeal), and that by the evidence of men of distinguished theological and ecclesiastical position. In the case of other bodies, it remains to be done in the future. But in all previous cases there has been no attempt in dealing with such bodies to lead evidence at all, or to bring the facts of their development or continuous church life so before the Court that the latter should be enabled to recognise it. That has now been done for the Reformed Presbyterian Church with, so far, good results. I find that some valued correspondents of mine in America complain that the recent judgment is a deviation from those that went before it. I, too, think that the Ferguson Bequest judgment is a new departure. But I think it has been prompted by a true historic instinct, and that, no doubt as yet in an informal way, it comes nearer than any that went before it to the forgotten facts and to the unacknowledged principles of Presbyterianism.

ALEX. TAYLOR INNES.

\* *E.g.*—In the case of *Couper v. Burn*, the alleged contract of one of the two Churches concerned seems to have been a mere suggestion of the Court without either proof or averment.

## GENERAL SURVEY.

## THE MONTH OF CHURCH PARLIAMENTS.

It is a singular fact, that by general consent May is the time selected for church meetings of nearly every kind. Occasionally, as in the Presbyterian Church of England, the end of April may suit better; or, as in Ireland, the meeting may touch the first days of June; in the far-off Antipodes, the difference of seasons may require a different month; but, for the most part, May is the month for "May meetings" and the supreme courts of Churches. It certainly cannot be from any special feeling towards the Virgin Mary that the month usually dedicated to her has received this distinction. If we were at liberty to give a fanciful explanation, we should say that as in nature May is the month of renewed vitality and activity in the vegetable world, so it is the suitable season for rousing the Churches to that corresponding renewal which is so much needed in the spiritual world. Whatever may be true historically, the analogy to which we have referred may at all times be brought into use as a practical force. It were surely well for all churchmen to cherish the thought, and to strive and pray that the quickening breath of spring may breathe over their assemblies, and that a fresh, stirring, all-pervading, yet gentle activity may show that the lapse of years has not begun to impair their vigour or dull their hopes.

While in Britain and America these meetings come round with the regularity of clockwork, we cannot but remember that in Churches like the Reformed Church of France, no such assemblies are permitted to be held. It is inexpressibly sad to look back over whole centuries, and mark how the want of this liberty has impaired the vigour and vitality of that Church. Surely it is now time for a change. We cannot believe that many more seasons will be allowed to elapse before France regains her ancient right.

In the main, doubtless, each Church will be occupied with its local questions. America will discuss the question of representation, and the best means of securing coherence and efficiency over the vast area covered by her Presbyterian Church. England will aim at the further consolidation and development of her recent union, and consider what can be done for the wants around her. Scotland will have some hard enough nuts to crack, notably the Robertson-Smith Case, of the bearings of which a correspondent gave an account in our first number. Ireland will have to elect successors to the late Professor Smyth and Professor Porter, men whom she can ill miss from their academical seats. Other supreme courts will also have their local business, and there will be much occasion in connection therewith to fulfil the more immediate purpose for which such courts exist.

But amid such local questions, we trust the spirit will be found in strength which looks also to a wider horizon, and has regard to the condition of the wide world. There is something truly depressing in the thought of the utter inadequacy of the means in operation,—their utter disproportion to the wants of the world. The true greatness of any church assembly is measured by the number of men in her ranks whose hearts are large enough to grasp the world, and whose faith is strong enough to go forth for its conversion. As to work beyond our borders, we may surely learn a great lesson from what Dr. Mair tells us in his paper on the "Mission Work of the Ancient Celtic Church." How few even know, how much fewer have ever laid to heart, the wonderful activity and devotion of that venerable and most interesting Church which in times of deep poverty did so much to spread the Gospel over the Continent of Europe! The nineteenth century, with all its self-importance, may learn a very humbling lesson from the sixth or seventh.

## SCOTLAND.

THERE is not much to tell to the world of Church movements in Scotland at the present time. In fact, there is not much movement of any kind, unless, indeed, the strange and unprecedented troubles, public and private, which have fallen on us, are going deep into the national heart, and quietly but powerfully moving us to humiliation and reformation. No doubt the more devout and thoughtful among us are laying to heart the singular dealings of God—the prostration of industry, the depression of agriculture, the terrible winter, so trying to the labouring classes, the disastrous explosions in mines, the very grievous and widespread ruin caused by the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, the deaths in the royal family, and last, not least, the wars in distant parts of the empire in which we have got involved. In regard to the last, political feeling has had much to do with the opinions which divide the country, as to whether, even according to the ordinary standard of the world, these wars are justifiable. But even apart from this consideration, all Christian men must be of one mind in believing that it is nothing short of a calamity for a Christian nation to be plunged even into a just and lawful war. “When a man’s ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.” And if our national enemies are not made to be at peace with us, it is a proof that our ways do not please the Lord. Even a just and lawful war, though it may be followed by victory, enlargement of territory, and so forth, is a great calamity. Many are feeling personally the bitter results of these conflicts—doomed to think of young and promising careers cut short by the barbarian’s weapon, and of the desolation of heart caused thereby to surviving parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. No doubt, we say, many are solemnised by such things, and are pleading with God to turn us again, and make His face to shine. But in many quarters there has been a most lamentable levity of feeling on the subject of war, and over the nation there is not much appearance as yet of any deep exercise of heart before God. And in regard to commercial depression, people are just waiting on, under the impression that things must come round soon, just as they wait on during a heavy shower, with the feeling that ere long the sky must clear. It would seem to be God’s purpose, by multiplying and protracting our troubles much beyond the customary period, to dissipate this expectation, and to compel us to feel that, until as a nation we acknowledge our offence and seek His face, He will continue to stretch out the hand of judgment.

A few points may be briefly noted in connection with the several Churches. In the Established Church of Scotland, a very successful effort has been made, under the auspices of Professor Charteris and his friends, to establish a cheap parochial magazine, devoted, as its name indicates, to the promotion of “Christian Life and Work.” Each parish taking the magazine in any considerable quantity gets its name printed on its copies, and thus local interest is stimulated. It is very gratifying to hear of the success of this enterprise.

In another sphere, Dr. Charteris has been trying to effect a change. It is well known that in the national universities the only professors of divinity who have a recognised place are those connected with the Established Church. Dr. Charteris, who is one of these, feels this to be an anomaly, and proposes that the divinity professors of the other Presbyterian Churches should be in the same relation to the universities. The fact is, that the Established Church in Edinburgh has fewer professors and students than either the Free Church or the United Presbyterian. The conferring of theological degrees thus belongs to a minority of the theological staff. It is generally felt that, whatever may be the merit of Dr. Charteris’ proposal, the time of moving is unfavourable. A Royal Commission has just reported on the changes desirable to be made in our universities, and no mention is made of any change in the theological faculty.

A little experiment in the direction of free theological teaching has just been made in connection with the University of Edinburgh. The moving spirit in this has been Dr. John Muir, well known as a great Sanskrit scholar, the generous

founder of the Sanskrit chair in the University, and a man of frank, open nature, and personally a favourite with all. Unfortunately, Dr. Muir himself is a rationalist, of very advanced opinions in theology, as may be seen from his Introduction to Professor Kuenen's work on Prophecy, translated into English, and published under Dr. Muir's auspices. Dr. Muir, always generous in the use of his purse, offered a sum of money for a Lecturer in Theology, if the Senatus of the University would allow the lectures to be given under their auspices. The lecturer selected was Principal Fairbairn, of Airedale College, Yorkshire, a Congregationalist, and his subject was Comparative Religion. The acuteness and ability of his lectures were cordially acknowledged on every hand. The first part only have been delivered, as the course is to extend over several sessions. Principal Fairbairn has a difficult task, and it is not quite apparent to what practical results he will guide. It would appear that his sympathies are pretty decidedly with the school called, in former days, the Cambridge Platonists, who always lean to favourable conclusions in regard to the state of those who were under non-Christian religions. Principal Fairbairn's inclination would seem to be, not to level down Christianity to the rank of other religions, for he believes most cordially in the supernatural and unique character of Christianity, but rather to level up other religions nearer at least to the latitude of Christianity.

In our Theological Institutions, we have not had to complain of any falling off in the number of students. On the contrary, the attendance during the session now ended has been notably large. The Established Church has four halls throughout the country, the Free Church three, and the United Presbyterian one. We have been reaping the fruit of the religious movement under Mr. Moody, and to this, probably, is due the increased number of candidates for the ministry. The United Presbyterian Church has recently made an important change in regard to theological study. Formerly students had to attend only for two months, and the attendance took place during the usual holiday time; but a couple of years ago the session was changed from autumn to winter, and from two months to five. This naturally lessened the attendance at first, but this year there is a considerable increase, and for next year the prospects are good. The Theological Hall of the Free Church in Edinburgh, meeting in the New College, is the largest in Scotland, if not the largest out of Germany. This year the number enrolled was 137. What makes this fact unusually interesting is, that students attend from all parts of the Presbyterian world. Fully one hundred are students of the Free Church—the rest are strangers. They come from the United States, North and South, Canada, Iceland, Ireland, Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Russia, Bithynia, Cape of Good Hope, Australia, New Zealand. The New College is an epitome of the Presbyterian Alliance. Nothing could be better fitted for creating mutual interest and affection throughout the various Churches and countries.

A question of some interest in theological education awaits solution in the Free Church Assembly. Under the auspices of the late Dr. Duff, a chair of Evangelistic Theology was founded, of which Dr. Duff was the first occupant. Dr. Duff's idea was that that class should ultimately be in all respects like the other classes, in respect of attendance, work, and examinations, and the professor like the other professors. Many in the Free Church are inclined to think that this would not effect the object—inspiring the students with missionary zeal. They think that instead of one permanent professor, with a stereotyped course of lectures, it would be better to have fresh courses of lectures by selected men appointed from year to year. The question is attended with difficulties on the merits, and also with technical difficulties, and opinion is divided as to the best solution.

A Bill has lately been introduced into the House of Commons, by Sir Alexander Gordon, a son of that Earl of Aberdeen who was once Prime Minister, having for its object to afford facilities for the reunion of our Churches. The arrangement would be expected to operate in the way of drawing Nonconformists into con-

nection with the Established Church, The proposal has not excited much interest in any quarter. The union of churches is what President Lincoln would have called "a big job," and for the present, strange though it may seem to the outer world, the various Churches do not appear much disposed to leave their denominational lines. The writer may recall a remark of the late Hugh Miller, made a few days after the Disruption of 1843, *apropos* of the rapidity with which each of the two dismembered portions was completing its separate organisation :—"It reminds me," he said, "of a watch-spring broken in two, each portion immediately coils up round a centre of its own." The various Churches have coiled up round centres of their own, and it is not easy, any more than in the case of a broken watch-spring, to bring them back to unity. Yet, we do not doubt, that in His own time and way, the Lord of all will take the stick of Joseph and the stick of Judah, and join them into one.

### BELGIUM.

*By M. ANET, Brussels.*

THE glorious Reformation of the sixteenth century had a great success in Belgium. The Gospel was preached in numerous places, and the writings of Luther and other reformers were abundantly spread. Many churches were formed, either among the Walloon population, who spoke French, or among that part of the nation which spoke Flemish. They were organised upon Presbyterian principles, and formed a Synod; and a Confession of Faith was drawn up, which holds a most honourable place among the Evangelical symbols of the sixteenth century. The Gospel, however, met nowhere with such violent and cruel opposition. The victims of the Inquisition, who took advantage of the bloody power of Charles the Fifth and his successors, were numberless. At this epoch, the glorious gallery of the martyrs of the Reformation opens itself. The first, Voes and Esch, were burnt before the town-hall of Brussels. It was in the yard of the castle of Vilvorde (two leagues from Brussels) that the amiable and learned Tyndal, who translated the Bible into English, was burnt in the flames. All the instruments of torture and murder were employed, till there remained not one disciple of the Gospel in those unfortunate provinces. All who could not find a refuge abroad were put to death. When any vestige of the seed of the Reformation was even seen, during the two centuries which followed, it was eagerly destroyed. Everywhere, where a secret disciple of the Gospel was found, he was immediately suppressed. The darkness of Popery and the prevalent despotism kept the Belgian provinces bent under this deadly yoke till the end of last century.

It was at that time that, through the edicts of tolerance of Joseph II., some Protestants appeared in a few villages of the province of Hainaut, towards the frontiers of France, and in one village of Flanders (Maria Hoorebeke) they had been able to escape from the inquisitory search of the priests. The French Revolution at last brought, in some form, liberty of conscience. Some few Protestant churches were again formed, composed of strangers or of Belgians. It was under the reign of William I. of Holland that they were constituted, and obtained pastors. The Dutch, who were established in the country, and the military garrisons were the means of the formation of a few Dutch churches, but these disappeared at the Revolution of 1830.

In 1837, Protestantism counted seven churches, four of which were entirely composed of strangers resident in the country. These churches were situated at Brussels, Antwerp, Liege, and Verviers. They held their worship in German and French. It would be difficult to say of how many souls each was composed; but those of Brussels and Antwerp only had somewhat considerable numbers. The German element formed the majority. There was also a small Dutch flock at Ghent, which formed one charge along with the flock of Maria Hoorebeke (a small village four leagues' distance from Ghent).

The church of Maria Hoorebeke, that of Rongy (whose pastor lived at Tournay),



and that at Dour, a parish situated two leagues from Mons, were composed of Belgians. Most of the members were descendants of Protestants of the sixteenth century, who began to declare themselves, under the protection of the edicts of tolerance of Joseph II. It was after the French Revolution that these isolated and dispersed Protestants, who first united in groups to celebrate their worship, and with whom some Catholics had joined themselves, formed these three congregations, which counted in all less than 800 souls.

All of these congregations received from the State salaries for their pastors and the expenses of their worship. In 1839, they formed a synod.

In the lapse of time, the number of their members steadily increased. At the present time, Brussels possesses three pastors—one for the French language, one for the German, and one for the Dutch; the church at Antwerp has two—one Dutch, one German; and Ghent and Maria Hoorebeke have each a single minister.

A small congregation has been formed at Malines. The congregation of Dour got an annex—Paturage (a parish situated about four miles off), entirely composed of proselytes withdrawn from the Church of Rome. This annex became in a few years important enough to have a special pastor. In a neighbouring parish (Labouverie) the Evangelical Society had assembled a flock composed of proselytes. In 1854, this congregation joined those who were supported by the State, getting the salary from the State. Some years ago, a chapel was erected at Seraing for the use of the German Protestants staying in that locality. The minister receives, likewise, his salary from the State.

Thus the congregations paid by the State possess fifteen pastors. They have, besides, three *stations* occupied by three evangelists; two are situated near Mons, and one in a town of Flanders called Roulers.

Several of these congregations have schools. Those at Brussels and Antwerp are well organised, and the method of teaching is excellent.

They have also a small asylum at Brussels for old people, and another for orphans.

It is but just to advert here to the British and Foreign Bible Society. Since 1835, its Committee have had a special agent at Brussels, and they send colporteurs all over the country. The Church of England has eight congregations in Belgium—three at Brussels, and one each at Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and Spa. But these do nothing for the evangelisation of the country, and exercise no influence in favour of Protestantism.

*Evangelical Society, or Belgian Missionary Christian Church.*—Towards the end of 1837, a few friends came together at Brussels and formed an association, to which they gave the name of Belgian Evangelical Society, whose object was to evangelise Belgium. These beginnings were small, but God blessed the work so evidently, amidst many trials, that the field extended itself, and the number of congregations was such that, ten years later—viz., in 1848—they were able to give themselves an ecclesiastical organisation based upon Presbyterian principles. They adopted the glorious Confession of Faith which our fathers sealed with their blood in the sixteenth century. The congregations that formed this new body were entirely composed of persons drawn from the Roman Church by the labours of the Evangelical Society. They kept that title, while adding to it that of “Belgian Missionary Christian Church.” This society has never ceased to extend her sphere of action. She has increased constantly, though slowly, and has struck her roots deep into the ground, as a tree planted in congenial soil.

The work is divided into four or five branches.

*First*, The regular preaching of the Gospel, either to instruct and edify the congregations already assembled round the Word of God, or to form new ones, always through the conversion of Roman Catholics, the various agents having but quite exceptionally to deal with Protestants. The preaching takes place regularly on Sunday mornings, in more than forty-two places—viz., twenty-five chapels and five halls, acquired or built by the congregations themselves, or by friends of the work.\* The others are rooms in houses, which are let or lent

\* More than half of these are burdened with debt, and some to the amount of their whole value.

gratuitously. During the week, meetings are held in these places of worship, or in private houses.

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*Orphanage.*—In proportion as the revival increased, the need of an Orphanage was felt, and at last one was founded. In 1873, a building was bought, very well situated, and quite convenient. There is room for forty children. Generally there are more than thirty of both sexes. It is going on well, and the results are encouraging.

*An Asylum for old people* becomes yearly more necessary, and seems even most

needful. Small collections are made in our congregations for the enterprise, but the sum which has been got is far from sufficient.

*Religious and moral results.*—These results are most important, whether we consider the thousands of souls who have departed this life in a state of reconciliation with God by a living faith in Jesus Christ, or observe the congregations, and the groups formed around the Gospel, and dispersed throughout the kingdom, as real centres of light, some weak, but others strong and shining; whether we consider that millions of souls have heard the offer of God's mercy, or consider the great moral reputation which the work of the missionary Christian Church has acquired in the country, and the prejudices which have been scattered, notwithstanding the efforts of detractors. But all this might form materials for a special article, of which the well-founded conclusion would be, that the Belgian Christian Missionary Church is now, after three centuries, the reappearance of that Evangelical Church which, in the midst of the sixteenth century, gave itself a synodical organisation, proclaimed its faith by the noble document known under the title of "Belgian Confession," and of which all the members were either banished or put to death as martyrs of Jesus Christ. The Evangelical Belgian Church has been three centuries in the tomb, and her Head now says to her, as He said to Lazarus—"Come forth;" and the Church obeys.

Of course, the Irvingites and Darbyites came to do their customary work like humble bees, feeding themselves with the honey which others had gathered by unceasing labour. They have, however, succeeded to make an entrance only into four hives, which had been formed by the diligent bees of the Evangelical Society. The humble-bee Irvingites destroyed one; the humble-bee Darbyites ruined another many years ago. As to one of the four, she has repaired her spoiled honeycombs, and formed others truly rich.

Such is Protestantism in Belgium, considered in a general light. To have a complete view, we should need to study it in its dogmatic, moral, and social relations, and likewise in connection with the religious and political state of the kingdom.

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## SPAIN.

### RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

By Rev. FRITZ FLIEDNER.

(Continued.)

THE last case of religious intolerance in Spain takes us back to the Mancha, and to our congregation in Camuñas, which is situated in the midst of Ultramontanes, or rather of Carlists, and has long been a thorn in the flesh to them. Now the Jesuits were to help to disperse them. Two pious fathers of "great eloquence and even greater piety," preached daily the week before Palm Sunday, but without much effect. Then, on the "Friday of Mary's grief" (for in this Mary-worshipping land, she must have her own special Good Friday eight days before), a procession was organised for Palm Sunday; and to make sure of the support of the surrounding villages, fifteen years' indulgence was granted to all who took part in it. Those who confessed and received the communion beforehand were entitled to an extension of indulgence. This shows how much importance the Romanists attribute to confession. The people flocked in the last night; more than 150 men came to confess, and a plan was laid in secret, which the next day only too clearly brought to light. There had never been a procession on Palm Sunday before in the village, and no procession had ever gone the same way, for they chose that which led past the Protestant chapel, school, and manse. The images and pictures had passed, the clergy followed, and beside the priests went the town-clerk. His neighbour whispered a few words to him; he threw up his arms and cried, "How long shall we suffer this house amongst us; long live our religion!" The tumult which ensued passes description. "Long live the Virgin!

Death to the heretics! Fire, fire! set fire to the house! There, there! now is the time!"—with these cries the fanatics threw themselves upon the building. Knives were glittering at the threshold, when the minister, just in time, managed to shut the heavy oaken door, and so prevented bloodshed. But then fell on the house a perfect hail of large, heavy stones, though, besides the pastor and his family, there were only women and children in it. Every window was shattered, even the chapel door of strong oak was cracked from top to bottom, and the pastor's wife, who happened to be in the schoolroom, had to hide under the forms to save herself from certain death. The stones fell in such numbers, that none of the terrified women could venture into the yard. All this time the priests did not cease to wave their hands and shout ("to quiet the people," as they said at the trial), "Long live our religion!" "Long live the Virgin!" It can scarcely be wondered at that this means of tranquillising the mob had quite a contrary effect!

The alcalde or mayor, with two gendarmes, behaved better. He ordered two of the leaders of the mob to be arrested, but was obliged to set them at liberty (by the furious multitude). And then the procession entered the church in triumph, blowing trumpets, with the priests at their head, and with the delightful feeling that they had honestly earned their 15 or 115 years' indulgence, whilst the pastor's wife lay in bed half-dead with fright, and was bled by the village barber to prevent worse consequences. I was there the day after, and picked up some of the stones which had been thrown into the house. They were blackened on one side, a clear proof that they had previously served for the hearth, and that they had been brought on purpose as weapons in this piece of planned villainy.

But a greater danger now threatens the evangelical congregation, from the side of the public administration of justice. The commission of inquiry of the tribunal of Madridejos is notoriously partial, and would condemn the Protestants at any price. Our enemies alone are fully heard, and the testimony of others is only partially taken down. Even in this case, where the Protestants had prudently remained perfectly quiet in their houses during the procession, the sharp eyes of Spanish justice have succeeded in finding a black sheep amongst them, on whom to throw the blame of the riot, a boy of fifteen, who had stood before the house when the procession passed (at a distance of eighty to a hundred paces). He is accused of having mocked at the Virgin, and of thus exciting the mob. He was straightway imprisoned, while the knaves who now boast of their deed were allowed to go free. A wise precaution, as the tribunal declares, "in order to prevent further disturbances." Not satisfied with this, the judge then brought an accusation against the pastor of having instigated the boy to his mockery of the Virgin. Then the poor man, who had kept quiet in his house the whole time in fear and trembling, and who had only been guilty of bolting the door in time to prevent bloodshed, was required to pay a security of £80; and as he could not do this, the authorities entered his house, laid embargo on it, seized all the school and chapel benches, the harmonium, the pulpit, &c., and carried them off to the house of a neighbour, who stored them in his stable!

In this manner it was intended to abolish all the evangelical services and impede the instruction. But our enemies' cry of triumph was premature; in their blind rage they had seized on the property of a foreigner. The house and benches belonged to a German subject. And the Germans are no longer without defence, since the united and powerful empire has undertaken to protect their interests. The Prime Minister of Spain knew this only too well, and appeared at last with his "*Quos ego*," above the stormy waves of Ultramontane hatred. Security was taken for the boy, and after five weeks' imprisonment he was set at liberty; the lawsuit against the Spanish pastor was entirely withdrawn; the pulpit, benches, and harmonium were returned uninjured, and the embargo was taken off the house. This turn of affairs was so unexpected by the villagers, that they said, "The German is rich; he has given the Minister of Justice five million reales (£50,000), and the Minister has sent a million to the judge, and therefore the Protestants are in favour."

As the victory now seemed doubtful to the Ultramontanes, they changed their tactics, and the affair has been protracted; six months are gone, and no sentence has been passed. The rioters go about unpunished, and prove that their opinions are unaltered by occasionally throwing stones into the yard of the manse. In other places the present state of affairs is taken advantage of to accuse the members of the evangelical congregations, who for the most part are poor, of taking part in democratic and socialist movements. But in this case a vindication, which cannot pass unheard by the Government of Alfonso XII., may be offered, by pointing to the regular prayers of every Sunday. In all the evangelical congregations, prayer is offered for the king and the authorities; and the Government knows too well that this is not done in many Catholic churches, which are occupied by former Carlists.

To which side will the victory incline in this struggle between religious intolerance and the desire for religious liberty? Or will it be possible to guide the keel of the ship of State through the narrow waters of a limited degree of toleration without being destroyed by Scylla or Charybdis, as the clever pilot Canovas hopes to do? We believe his theory to be impracticable for a lengthened period; but we are just as sure that the waves of intolerance and inquisitorial persecution cannot again overflow the land. Nor do the increase of the Ultramontane hosts, and the mushroom-like growth of the new monasteries make us waver in our opinion. At the same time, we do not approve of the scorn and mockery employed by the Liberal papers against them, nor do we believe these weapons to be effectual. "O wise Government!" exclaims one paper at the news of the enlargement of the State lunatic asylum. "First monasteries are erected, and then the madhouses are enlarged, no doubt in order to make good the harm done by the former!"

We see the germs of a freer future in other facts. Thus the longing for the education of the people is no longer to be suppressed; and the Protestant schools have not been least active in nourishing this desire. It is not so much by their number—although the Government itself was surprised, on making inquiry, to find a thousand children in Madrid alone in the Protestant schools—as by the example they give, and the rivalry they excite, that their influence has been telling. Wherever the Protestants open a school, the Catholics found four in the same district; and intelligent Spaniards rejoice at it, and say, "Let the children learn to read, for they will then no longer be blindly subject to the Romish clergy." The education in the public schools is watched over by the priests with jealous eyes; but at the same time private institutions are formed independent of the Romish Church, which give scientific instruction, and are constantly increasing in intellectual importance, and improving in quality. And small as the number of the Protestants is—from ten to twelve thousand, amongst seventeen million Spaniards—they form an element unknown hitherto, but which already begins to work like leaven. Even a small light shines far out into the darkness.

The Parliament itself can no longer ignore the Protestants. In the sketch of a new law in reference to instruction, recently laid before the Chambers, the Protestant teachers who wish to pass the State examinations are exempted from being examined in religion. In this case, of course, they can never receive a situation in a State school, as long as the Romish doctrine remains the religion of the State. The government of the Bourbons may indeed have severely pruned the intellectual progress of the Spanish nation, which perhaps luxuriated too wildly before; but it has now all the more depth and inward strength, and many a germ of really earnest, moral progress awakens the hope of a spring-time for the Spanish people, with whom one must become acquainted in the lower classes, in order not to judge them unjustly.

The next battle will perhaps have to be fought in the churchyard. The abuses of the priests in refusing to bury in consecrated ground increase, and it is no wonder that such occurrences most of all excite the hatred of the people against the ministers of Rome. For example, on one occasion when the priest refused



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The next battle will perhaps have to be fought in the churchyard. The abuses of the priests in refusing to bury in consecrated ground increase, and it is no wonder that such occurrences most of all excite the hatred of the people against the ministers of Rome. For example, on one occasion when the priest refused

burial, because the son of the dead person was too poor to pay the expenses, the embittered villagers carried the coffin with the body to the house of the priest, and put it down in the lobby, with the words, "Now, at least, he will see to the funeral."

But enough of instances. They sufficiently indicate the different elements of the struggle. But the struggle itself is a gain for Spain. The dead indifference which performed all the Romish ceremonies, and yet openly laughed at them, is losing ground. The consciousness of the great harm which the Church of Rome does to its most faithful adherents is gradually becoming stronger. Three hundred years of intellectual slavery cannot be shaken off in a moment; but the first step has been taken, when the people feel their fetters, and try to get rid of them. And perhaps this time of momentary interruption and hindrance may prove to the Liberals, who were formerly so sure of victory, that not jeers and mockery, but only earnest, intelligent work, will be efficacious for the regeneration of the people. The spiritual power which Rome undoubtedly possesses over millions of hearts can only be defeated by spiritual weapons. And the right must be victorious. However long the winter may last, though the first heralds of spring may be checked by hailstorms, they are the proofs that spring is at hand. We do not fear the struggle; for in the struggle our courage grows, like pearls in the bitter brine.

## UNITED STATES.

### CURRENT NOTES.

*Socialism.*—The socialistic discussions of the Old World have their echoes in the New. Our labour-riots of 1877 were but a straw on the surface, showing whereunto certain teachings might lead. An exact repetition of such outbreaks may not indeed be looked for, the property-owning class being too widely extended to allow of much toleration for wanton destruction; still, strange views are being sown broadcast by our demagogue class, and immense mischief is thereby done. Some of these days we may have to reap other harvests than those of golden grain. When communistic ideas and schemes become current in a land of universal suffrage, when hard times press heavily on those who have the political power, then the interests of property, of personal liberty, of all law and order, of religion itself, are imperilled. The possibility of such a struggle as would then be on us, is already being openly discussed by distinguished leaders of thought. Our people are therefore waking up to the threatened danger, and are seeking to avert a contest that would deluge the land with blood, such as would efface all traces even of the bloodshed of the civil war.

That these fears are not imaginary will be evident to your readers, when they read the following programme published in a newspaper of immense circulation among a section of our Irish population, and conducted professedly in the interests of the rights of labour, skilled and unskilled.

1. The soil belongs to the people. The Government, as the steward of the nation, shall farm this out in small holdings to individuals. All ground rents, whether in town or country, shall also be controlled by the Government, and all mines and railroads be public property.

2. Gold and silver shall be demonetised, and paper money substituted. No Government bonds to be issued, or national debt contracted.

3. All interest on loans to be illegal, and no private debts to be recoverable by process of law. (This, it is said, would check litigation, diminish the number of lawyers, do away with dishonesty among men, and place all business on a cash basis.)

4. All revenue to be raised by an income-tax, and no income under 1000 dollars a-year to be taxed (at present, no mechanic of any grade receives this sum), while eight hours' work shall constitute a legal day.



5. No public office shall be filled by the same man for longer than a single term. No official salary shall be less than the average wages of a skilled mechanic, nor, under any circumstances, more than double that sum.

6. Home labour to be protected to the extent of prohibiting the importation of all manufactured articles, whose raw material is to be found within the country.

7. The executive shall be reduced to a single house, that the power of the people in law-making may be greater than at present; while, as the duty of the Government is to carry out the wishes of the people, and not to thwart them, the veto power of the president shall be abolished.

Such are some extracts from this paper that may show your readers whither we are drifting. Rocks, indeed, are ahead; but He who has guided the ship thus far is still able to keep her in safety. Our trust is in Him for deliverance from the perils that darken our sky.

*Business Outlook.*—It may not be out of place to mention that our people seem to believe that, financially, *Cape Midnight* has been passed; a cheerier, more hopeful spirit is shown on every hand, and though work is hard to be got, and wages not one-half of what they were six years ago, still there is a general feeling that better days are at hand. The era of inflation was followed by one of terrible suffering, and now this is giving way to one of hard work and frugal living.

*Council Notes.*—Our different committees are busy with their work. We expect in a month or so to have our programme so far completed, that we can begin to correspond with brethren as to the share they will take in the preparation of papers for the Council itself.

Allow me to repeat a request that has already appeared in your pages; the reports of the sub-committees on creeds and confessions are now overdue. Will the brethren who have these papers in hand, make what haste they can, and forward them to the Rev. Dr. Schaff, New York?

*Presbytery Meetings.*—It is our custom to have two stated meetings of presbytery each year—one in the fall, the other in the spring. At these meetings, there is a general "redding up" of all points of business, so that these may be viewed as the ecclesiastical stock-taking periods. In our larger and more compact presbyteries, there are of course, in addition, many other meetings, but the "stated meetings" are the great meetings. On these occasions, a presbytery will be in session for several days, and the members look forward to them with as much interest as ever a worthy Scottish minister in the olden time looked forward to the "half-yearly communion," as giving him the longed-for opportunity of meeting with his brethren, and joining with them in special religious services. Very generally the fate of overtures, sent down by the Assembly, is foreshadowed by the action of the presbyteries at their spring meetings, that being the season at which, as a rule, all such matters are discussed.

*Meetings of Assembly.*—In order that all parts of the land might share in the pleasure and profit resulting from the meeting of the General Assembly, it has been customary for that court to meet in a different place each year, the selection being dependent somewhat on invitations addressed to the Assembly. As the Assembly numbers some six hundred members, it has of late been found difficult to secure a suitable place. Two modes of overcoming this difficulty have been suggested; one, that of always meeting in some central place, and—as our Scottish churches are accustomed to do—having there the offices of the Church, instead of having these, as at present, in different cities. The other plan is that of the Assembly selecting its own place of meeting, and then, instead of billeting its members round among the people in the town, paying its own expenses of lodging. Last year this latter plan was adopted, so that the Assembly for the current year will meet in Saratoga, so well known for its saline springs, and as being one of the most fashionable summer resorts of our people. Do not, however, imagine that it is because it is such that our Assembly is going there. The season in Saratoga does not commence till the middle of June, by which time the Assembly will have adjourned. Previous to that period, the great hotels will

not be opened, and accommodation will have to be got as best it can be; but the situation is convenient, and as our meeting will take place at the dull season, the expense will be moderate.

### THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA.

*By Rev. J. B. DALE, Philadelphia.*

THIS Church derives its name from a fortunate union that was consummated, after much prayer and deliberation, in May, 1858, between the Associate and Associate Reformed Churches of this country. The new body thus formed developed new life and energy at once, and girded itself to far greater work at home and abroad than had ever been attempted by either of its constituent parts. Coming together on a basis of principles that had been held in common, their members rallied under a banner that bore on one side the words, *The Truth of God*; and on the other, *Forbearance in Love*. Such was the origin of this Church, and, standing on the platform of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, which all its ministers and members alike accept and declare that they will maintain, it cordially stretches out the hand of Christian fraternisation and co-operation to every other portion of the Presbyterian family throughout the world.

In carrying on its work it has, in addition to its regular presbyterial operations, a series of Boards under the immediate appointment and supervision of the General Assembly. Its home work, which reaches into most of the States and Territories of the Union and into Canada, is committed, so far as recommending the men to be employed and apportioning the money to be expended is concerned, to a body of representatives from all the home presbyteries, fifty-four in all, who assign all unsettled ministers and licentiates their work for the year, and fix the sums of money to be devoted to mission stations and feeble churches. The foreign work has been concentrated upon India and Egypt, and as this Church did not enter into either of these fields so as to infringe upon the work of any other Church or foreign missionary organisation, so it is grateful to feel that no Church or foreign Mission Board has interfered with it. In this service it has twelve missionaries, 160 labourers, and over 1000 native communicants.

With these home and foreign operations there are regularly organised systems or Boards for aiding young men in preparing for the ministry, furnishing assistance to feeble congregations in building or completing houses of worship, educating and training the coloured people who were once slaves, publishing and supplying the people and the churches with a suitable Christian literature, and relieving aged and disabled ministers, and the widows and children of such ministers as have fallen by death in the service of the Church. All these Boards are thoroughly organised, and are carried on at a cost for salaries of officers and agents of less than \$3000 (£600) a-year.

This Church has a total membership of 78,748 persons, and the average contribution of each member to the cause of Christ during the past year was \$10.75. The whole number of ministers and licentiates is 713, and the average salary for each pastor was \$928. Of the 791 congregations 593 have settled pastors and stated supplies; 688 have houses of worship, and 96 have parsonages, whose average cost was \$2167 each. There are also 709 Sabbath schools, with 6972 officers and teachers, 59,243 scholars, and the total contributions for these schools was \$23,210.

In common with the Presbyterianism of Geneva, Holland, Scotland, and the early periods in the history of various portions of our own country, this Church is now, as ever in its original parts, the friend and thorough advocate of civil and religious liberty, of a sound education for all classes and conditions of the people, an open Bible for every family and in every church, and the claim of God to be acknowledged as the source of all good, and of His Son Jesus Christ to be owned and honoured as Lord over all.

## AUSTRALIA.—VICTORIA.

IN this letter, written in an emergency, I can give no more, and your readers will probably desire no more, than a simple photograph of this somewhat notorious dependency of Great Britain. When first taken possession of by parties from New South Wales and Tasmania, it was regarded as a splendid acquisition to the Australian colonies for pastoral purposes. It was gradually occupied by an enterprising race, the pioneers of civilisation, and devoted to the rearing and nourishing of immense flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. The extensive plains and forests were equally suited to this purpose; and by degrees the whole region of Australia Felix, as it was called, was parcelled out into extensive runs, and became a source of ever-increasing wealth to the stock-owners and to all classes of the people. For some time after its discovery and earliest occupation Victoria belonged to New South Wales, and received its laws from the Government, whose seat was Sydney. In process of time, however, Victoria was constituted a distinct colony, holding of the Crown, and having a governor representing the Sovereign of Great Britain. It then received a political constitution, worked by a Legislature, consisting of an upper house or council and of a lower house or assembly; each house elected by a separate constituency, manhood suffrage ruling in both. I venture to say, that a graver or more inexcusable error than this manhood suffrage was never committed by intelligent Englishmen, as the result has fully shown.

To begin with, the squatters were tenants of the Crown, and held their lands by a lease of a definite duration. But as the State needed money, a land-law was passed, under which the lands were sold by auction; the highest bidder becoming, of course, the proprietor. Previous to the discovery of gold, this arrangement seemed a fair one. It suited both the State and its tenant, being an advantage to both, and an injustice to neither. No doubt subsequent events proved that it was inherently defective and liable to abuse; but had the colony continued, as it then was, an extensive grazing and pastoral country, who could predict that it would become the root of bitterness and the source of corruption which unfortunately it has proved to be? To the squatters themselves it has brought forth much evil. It led them to think, indeed convinced them most thoroughly, that the colony as a whole was fit only for their purposes, that nature had made it for the flocks and herds alone, and that it was unsuited for agriculture or any sort of general cultivation. In consequence, it became the belief of this body that the lands should belong to them; and, accordingly, they did their utmost to secure them by purchase. At this period in our history, the only plan of disposing of the public lands was by auction; the highest bidder being, of course, the successful competitor. Anxious to retain their runs unbroken, and to enjoy without disturbance their happy independence, the squatters purchased freely, some of them to an extent they could not afford, and the consequence was, they had to sell out—in other words, their creditors took possession. But many under this system acquired the fee-simple of extensive domains, and soon became famous for the brilliancy of their fortunes.

We have no better class of colonists than these much defamed squatters. With few exceptions, they were and are men of education, well born and bred, who began life here, not as rude adventurers, but with means sufficient to keep them in comfort, and to give them a fair start in the business of life. I have found them, *as a class*, always intelligent and well disposed. Some of them are generous, most of them ready to contribute to every good object when it is fairly explained to them. To them chiefly, ministers of all denominations look both for sympathy and encouragement, especially in our bush or outlying districts, and the policy that will deprive the Church and society at large of the countenance and support of these gentlemen, their families, and their friends, will be as full of disaster as it will be void of wisdom. Possessing the means, they have used them liberally to improve the quality of all kinds of stock. In consequence, no finer horses, or

cattle, or sheep can be found in any quarter of the globe than those which are reared on the grassy plains of Victoria.

The discovery of gold introduced a new era. The immediate effect disorganised society as it then existed, and led to changes which, both in their nature and results, amounted to revolution. When it is ascertained that gold in unknown quantity may be found at a day's or half-a-day's journey from the village or the town in which you dwell, one may easily imagine the excitement and the hurly-burly that will ensue. The rumour spreads on the wings of the wind that twenties or hundreds of ounces of gold have been found by digging a few yards into the ground. The usual bonds of the social system are straightway dissolved. The servant abandons his place, the clerk his situation; the merchant follows suit. The husband leaves his wife, the father his family, and all hurry to the enchanted field that is bottomed on gold. About the same time the discovery was made at Ballarat and Sandhurst, at Forrest Creek and Castlemaine, at the Went and Beechworth, &c. &c. The commotion was universal, a mighty torrent sweeping before it all the engagements, duties, relations, and comforts of settled, ordinary life. The immigration that immediately ensued was overwhelming in its character as well as in its amount. Tens of thousands of stalwart adventurers invaded the land, and crowded the gold-fields. In a brief space of time the population increased tenfold, and sylvan scenes, fair with natural beauty, the retreat of the kangaroo, and of flocks of bright-plumaged parrots, were turned into the semblance of a huge grave-yard—nothing to be seen but mounds of grey, or red, or black soil extracted from the bowels of the violated earth. To begin with, the diggings were all alluvial. No machinery was required; the mattock, the spade, and the wash-basin constituted the searcher's stock-in-trade. Immense was the quantity of the precious metal thus obtained, and the debauchery connected with it was at once shameless and incessant. It is impossible for me to give in words any adequate conception of the licentiousness that disgraced the gold-fields, and the mad folly with which the gold was squandered. The miners were not all of this stamp. There were amongst them men of principle—Christian principle—and men of prudence, who valued the fruit of their digging for the substantial good it would confer on themselves and their families. Now, then, was the time for adapting the land-law to this astonishing emergency—passing it so as to induce the gold-finder to invest his treasure in a well-chosen freehold, and so provide a pleasant home for himself and his successors in a country which had blessed him beyond his expectations, and made him independent for the rest of his life. But our statesmen were not equal to the occasion. They clung to use and wont, and so drove out of the colony a race of men that would have strengthened and enriched it beyond all computation. The alluvial diggings have been exhausted for years. Quartz crushing has taken its place, and as this requires both capital and scientific skill, a much steadier class of miners or working men is employed. Still the *find* is large, though by no means what it was. To secure this wealth, or as much of it as possible to the country that produced it, was surely the true course—the only wise and patriotic course—to be pursued. And various attempts have been made to obtain a permanent and satisfactory adjustment. But somehow or other these attempts have proved abortive. One after another they have broken down on trial, and increased the evil they were meant to remedy.

The first scheme for opening the lands interdicted the squatters from purchasing. They were carefully excluded from competing, that the poor man might procure a freehold on easy terms. This plan defeated itself. Immediately a legion of dummies appeared, gave the necessary pledges, and purchased largely. By-and-by it was discovered that these *poor-men settlers* were the paid agents of the squatters, who sought in this manner to protect themselves from the cruel injustice of a dishonest law. Simultaneously, another tribe of social pests appeared, picturesquely described as land-sharks, who purchased avariciously at every land sale, and then resold to the persecuted squatter at an enormous profit. Thus runs were

broken up, and the State defrauded, by tribes of vampires who were as insatiable as they were infamously false and corrupt. The system pursued by the present Government is as unpromising as that which it has superseded. A district is divided and subdivided into 320 acre blocks. Free selection is the law. Squatters are not eligible; they are a proscribed order. The object is to give the people *homes*, so that they and their posterity may be the flourishing yeomen of Australia Felix. Each block, a patrimonial estate, *in esse*, is offered on the most inviting terms. Neither capital nor experience is necessary. The price is £1 per acre, payable in ten years. The annual payment is at the rate of 2s. per acre. As no interest is charged by the Crown, the actual price of the land is not more than 14s. per acre. The selector signs a declaration that he has no other selection, and that he means to spend his life on the property thus easily procured. This solemn declaration is, I am told, generally disregarded. As a rule, these selectors have no capital; they lead, in consequence, a wretched life, until they procure their title-deeds; then very generally they sell, and decamp in quest of larger possessions. At present we are in a state of revolution. Trade is paralysed, and security shaken to its foundations. No one can foretell, but every thinking man fears, what is to come. On all sides we see tokens of God's displeasure. He gave this country wealth in unprecedented measure, and He is denied by the people so signally favoured, His promises and His warnings being equally despised. Government disowns Him, the Legislature disowns Him, the press disowns Him, the schools disown Him. Can any one wonder that our political heavens are dark with symptoms of distress? The oracle is infallible—"Them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."

ALPHA.

MELBOURNE.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## ANSWERS.

[1.] ELIZABETH OF BOHEMIA.—We have received several very interesting communications giving sources of information respecting this lady; but as a sketch of her singularly interesting history will appear in our pages very soon, we reserve them until that article is published.

[2.] ENGLISH EDITION OF CALVIN'S LETTERS.—The advertisement prefixed to an edition of this work, bought in Philadelphia, gives some information on this subject. It says, "The first two volumes were published in Edinburgh, when circumstances, unnecessary to detail, arrested the further progress of the work. A benevolent gentleman in New York (Mr. James Lenox) proposed to purchase the copyright of the letters, and transfer it to the Presbyterian Board of Publication. The arrangement has been completed, and to that Board, if we should not say to this country, is to be due the credit of first ushering to the world the rich and varied correspondence of one of the greatest and best men."

I believe the four volumes were published, though I have only seen three; these three contain 521 letters.

M. E. W.

BELFAST, 21st March, 1879.

Mr. Constable, publisher of the two volumes of the translated letters which appeared in this country, gives an account of the enterprise, which does not quite agree with the advertisement to the American edition:—

EDINBURGH, 5th March, 1879.

In order to enable you to reply to the question put to you in the March number of *The Catholic Presbyterian*, and to place on record some details of my frustrated enterprise to give the English public a translation of all the Letters of John Calvin, I must refresh my memory by recurring to correspondence and



intercourse twenty-five years ago with Dr. Jules Bonnet, the accomplished editor of the four volumes published in Paris by M. Meyrueis, I think in the year 1854.

Having learned with astonishment from the late M. Merle d'Aubigné that there had been difficulty in achieving even this Parisian edition, and that it was deemed hopeless to attempt their publication in the English language, some lingering remains of youthful enthusiasm were stirred within me, and crediting my countrymen with greater devotion to the father of their theology than was warranted by the issue, I determined to supply the want.

M. d'Aubigné introduced me to Dr. Bonnet, who readily accepted a proposal by Thomas Constable & Co. that he should furnish to us annotated transcripts of the Reformer's Latin and French letters, to be translated and published at our expense in this country, while any profit that might arise from their publication should be equally divided between the Editor and ourselves.

To facilitate the launching of the publication, Dr. and Madame Bonnet passed the winter of 1854 as guests under my roof, and a very pleasant time we had together. The first volume appeared in the spring of 1855, and Dr. Bonnet left us for Paris in high hope and expectation.

It may be that my enthusiasm had caused me to undertake single-handed what ought to have been the work of an association; still, sanguine as I may have been, I never expected, or led Dr. Bonnet to expect, that either he or we would receive one penny of remuneration until all the four volumes had been placed before the public.

Dr. Bonnet wrote to me from time to time to ask the state of matters, and was sadly disappointed to learn, a year after publication, that we were still £260 out of pocket on the first volume alone. It was with extreme difficulty that we prevailed on him to complete the second one, which was already far advanced, and the best—indeed the only—vindication of his refusal to implement the contract with his publishers is contained in a letter he addressed to me from Clarens, in Switzerland, on the 4th of August, 1856.

[The letter in substance stated that as the first volume had been a great failure, no further steps ought to be taken, and that he was invincibly opposed to the completion of the four volumes.]

I wrote in reply to this communication from Dr. Bonnet.

[The letter expressed willingness to pay to Dr. Bonnet all expenses already incurred by him in connection with the publication; also a purpose to issue vol. ii.; and in reference to vols. iii. and iv., a great desire to go on with them, and made a request to Dr. Bonnet to say for what sum he would undertake to complete them. It concluded thus—"In any event, I would rather suffer much inconvenience than abandon a glorious undertaking like the present."]

The condition of co-operation proposed by Dr. Bonnet, was that he should be assured of a payment of £100 for each of the four volumes which were to constitute the edition. To these terms, in addition to the further risk incurred, my Firm could not agree, and with much regret we felt ourselves compelled to relinquish our interesting and useful enterprise. We forwarded to each of our subscribers a post-office order for 15s., the amount of their subscription for the two volumes which Dr. Bonnet placed it beyond our power to issue, and retired reluctantly, but without dishonour, from the enterprise.

Shortly after, Dr. Bonnet appears to have succeeded in finding pecuniary patronage in America for the Letters of the great Reformer, and availed himself of that translation of the two earlier volumes which had been made at the expense of his Edinburgh publishers. Many persons who had subscribed for these, completed their "sets" by adding vols. iii. and iv. of the New York edition; and you may possibly think it worth while to account to posterity for the *membra disjecta libelli* by printing this fragment of literary history.

THOMAS CONSTABLE.